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INTRODUCTION

The articles presented in this volume constitute the written version of the papers presented during a symposium at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the Free University of Berlin in June 1988. It was certainly not foreseen that their publication would take so long, but now, on the 500th anniversary of what has been called the "Discovery of the New World", they acquire a new topical relevance. Strangely enough, there have been several attempts to redefine the term 'discovery', which indeed seems rather inappropriate, as an 'encounter'. It certainly was one, but this euphemism is apt to obscure the fact that the conditions as well as the intentions were not the same for the respective inhabitants of the three continents who met in the New World. The striving for domination and acqusition of riches was a purely European experience, and the racial and sociocultural theories of the 19th century, as well as the more recent views and aims of 'development', attempt to legitimate morally a situation established a long time ago: the supremacy of 'white' and European culture. In fact, its dominance and the advantages offered to those who accepted it were so overwhelming that it might seem surprising that alternative cultures were able to survive at all these 500 years.

Within this history of adaptation and cultural resistance, the Caribbean Islands constitute a particular case. First of all, they were the oldest and most intensive area of colonization, going so far as to substitute the original population by a more 'suitable' one. It was here where the more modern powers – England, France and the Netherlands – developed new concepts of rational exploitation of foreign lands for the sake of national development and where the bourgeois classes acquired the wealth and economic power which enabled them to overthrow the traditional feudal structures. The slave societies of the Caribbean, finally, offer a striking example – surprising to some sociologists[1] – of human communities which survived on the mere basis of conflict and force instead of consensus. Certainly, the geographic nature of islands plays an important part in this particular role of the Caribbean: their limited space can be easily controlled and subjected to the economic goals of colonization. There is little or no open space for frontier land to which alternative cultures may retreat in order to escape from a life totally dedicated to production.

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[1]See M.G. SMITH, *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*, Berkeley 1965, Introduction.

Thus, the plantation becomes an all-embracing "self-contained unit", a "total economic institution", as Karl Levitt and Lloyd Best put it.[2]

This lack of space, as well as the importation of an ethnically diverse African population, distinguish Caribbean alternative cultures from the indigenous cultures of the mainland. The development after emancipation, particularly the continuing economic dependence on and close cultural ties to the colonial powers, reinforced the specific traits of Caribbean culture which had been described as higly westernized, atomistic and poorly valued and, therefore, unstable and subject to erosion.[3] As we will see in the studies of the present volume, this characterization does not apply to all types of Caribbean culture. We may even presume that very often it is a secondary development due to modernization and urbanization, and even then it is often counter-balanced by movements which intend to recreate the social cohesion which had been lost in the urbanized cultures. The best known, but far from unique, example is the Rastafari movement.

Nevertheless, even the most rural and traditional Caribbean cultures are marked by a "socialized ambivalence", which Herskovits described as early as 1937, in his famous study on the peasant community of Mirebalais in Haiti.[4] This applies not only to the rapid shifts in attitudes and values according to the situation; it is also inherent to Caribbean cultural institutions themselves. The best known example is the syncretistic religions are marked by a double set of deities identified as 'African' and 'Christian'.[5] Under certain circumstances, the ceremonies, the consecration of priests, the social setting of the community may present itself either as more 'modern' and Christian, on the one hand, or more 'traditional' and African, on the other. Similar patterns appear in all aspects of social and cultural life, notably in the Creole language which allows for either a more 'European' variation and a more Creole one. This also pertains to the economic culture which, in subsistence oriented agricul-

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[2]Karl LEVITT / Lloyd BEST, "Character of Caribbean Economy", in George BECKFORD (ed.), *Caribbean Economy,* Mona/ Jamaica 1975, pp. 34-60.

[3]See Charles A. WAGLEY, "Plantation America: A Cultural Sphere", in Vera RUBIN (ed.), *Caribbean Studies: A Symposium,* Mona 1957; Sidney W. MINTZ, "The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area", in M. HOROWITZ (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean,* New York 1971; Jean BENOIST, *Les sociétés antillaises. Etudes anthropologiques,* Fonds St.Jacques / Canada 1975, among others.

[4]Melville HERSKOVITS, *Life in a Haitian Valley,* New York 1971 ([1]1937), p.299; see also Erika BOURGUIGNON, "Class Structure and Acculturation in Haiti", in *Ohio Journal of Science* 52 (1952), pp. 317-320.

[5]Obviously, the terms 'African' or 'Christian' do not always refer to a European or Western understanding of corresponding traditions, but to interpretations of these traditions within Caribbean culture.

ture and handicraft, as well as rural markets, shows a more Creole or, alternatively, more 'Western' variation; or the Caribbean matrifocal family structure, with its extended family and parenting system as opposed to the 'Western' nuclear family. Though all these features of Creole culture are still widespread, most Caribbean people agree that more modern variation is desirable and that they switch to it if they can afford it.[6]

Despite all these conspicious differences, the 'official' and the alternative variants of Caribbean culture are closely interlinked. This may be explained by the limited and narrow island and plantation space where these cultures had to exist. Thus they developed within the plantation and the colonized areas, and not on its outskirts, on the outlying and still free lands. In fact, subsistence economy, which is the extreme opposite of the prevailing export-oriented plantation economy, has its origin on the plantations themselves, where slaves were assigned a piece of marginal land where they had to grow provisions for their own subsistence. Creole languages proved to be a very flexible liguistic system which, at the same time, served as a communication vehicle between slaves of different ethnic origins and masters, but could also be spoken in a way that excluded unwanted listeners. Religious societies could appear either as a naive imitation of Christian belief or as a conspiration. Thus, Creole culture is hardly to be described as something constant; it is, in its different manifestations, part of a continous process which oscillates according to varying circumstances, between what is perceived as 'western' and modern, and what is perceived as traditional. Individuals, villages, regions and entire islands may shift towards the more 'western' orientation when the standard of living goes up, when schools give access to the official language, when the modern modes of living are widespread enough to make the 'superstitious' folk religion undesirable. But whenever communities are stagnating in isolation and poverty, Creole culture provides a network of institutions on which cultural communication and satisfaction of daily needs can rely. In this sense it is truly alternative.

The Berlin meeting was a very special event. Its financial and organizational framework was very limited and so it united mainly scholars from Germany and nearby countries who had been working – more or less regularly – in Caribbean studies. Though dispersed, both regionally and in their fields of studies, most knew each other. This created a cordial and relaxed atmosphere favoring true exchange regardless of rank and fame.

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[6]To 'afford' Western culture means that the entire socio-economic status of the person permits the entry into it: The salary must be regular and high enough for the husband to be able to substain wife and children, to buy modern goods in a supermarket etc.; if this were not the case, neighbours would accuse him of 'pretending' and would discriminate against him.

The most tangible result of the meeting was that participants decided to create a "Society for Caribbean Research" which should serve as a platform to maintain contact among all interested scholars and organizations, and which should regularly organize similar events. The second meeting in Vienna/Austria in June 1990, with many speakers from the Caribbean and North and South America, was just as pleasant and productive, but, due to overseas participation, it indeed had a different scope. The third meeting in Utrecht/Holland (1992) will confirm and further the international acceptance and viability of the associaction. Therefore, this introduction to out first Annals should conclude with our thanks to all the frieds who sacrificed time and money in order to sustain the society from its very beginnings.

Amongst the particular sponsors we would like to mention the Werner–Reimers–Foundation in Bad Homburg which, in offering its hospitality, enabled a group of Caribbean scholars to exchange ideas and, subsequently, to found the Society mentionned above. Particular thanks also go to Barbara Haeussinger, who accepted a lion's share of the organizational work during the conference; to Rafael Dumett and Jörg Schulze, who helped in the preparation of this manuscript; and last but not least, to Prof. Dietrich Briesemeister and Dr. Klaus Zimmermann, both of the Ibero–America Institute Berlin, for their willingness to accept this manuscript for publication within their Biblioteca Iberoamericana.

Giessen/Berlin
March 1992

Thomas Bremer / Ulrich Fleischmann

I

Resistance in Colonial History and Beyond

CHANGING ATTITUDES. POLITICS OF MAROONS VERSUS POLITICS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SURINAM

Silvia W. de Groot (Amsterdam)

Relations between maroons and colonial government in Surinam have had constant as well as changing features (De Groot 1982a). In their dealings with each other these features caused different policies, and attitudes.

Not only their relationship towards each other influenced policy, but also specific circumstances within each community played a part, depending on whether these situations were brought about by internal or by external factors.

In this paper I wish to unravel the changing attitudes of each group with respect to each other, based on their relationship and circumstances.

The setting, the colony and its society

The colony

From 1650 on, Surinam developed into a plantation colony, based on a system of slave labour, until 1667 under English and thereafter under Dutch authority. Until 1795 Surinam was owned by the Chartered Society, a triumvirate consisting of the Dutch West Indian Company, the City of Amsterdam and Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk, who together administered the colony under supervision of the States General. Until 1816 government was enforced by a governor, a Political Council and a Council of Justice.

From 1799 to 1814 Surinam was a British protectorate. The system of administration was replaced in 1838, and again in 1865, 1937 and 1954, until independence in 1975.

In the 17th and 18th century two groups mainly wanted to profit by the country: namely the Directors of the Chartered Society and the plantation owners. In spite of their often conflicting interests, an unstable equilibrium was maintained and great fortunes were made by both for more than a century.

From the end of the eighteenth century onwards the colony fared badly after a period of prosperity. The causes were: the maroon guerilla wars,

the growing absenteeism of plantation owners, the raising of exorbitant loans, a crisis on the Amsterdam exchange, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, the prohibition of slave trade and, in 1863, the abolition of slavery.

The plantation and the slaves

The number of slaves imported from West Africa into Surinam is estimated to have been between 300,000 and 350,000. The plantation owner was confronted by a slavepopulation outnumbering the whites by 25 to 1 in 1738, 15 to 1 in 1786 and 6 to 1 in 1830. Especially in the eighteenth century the owner lived in a constant fear of slave uprisings and that was far from groundless. The slaves were mostly hostile, either overtly or covertly, as their masters, subject to great tensions, resorted to arbitrary treatment and atrocities.

The reactions of the slaves were manifold and had a number of causes, which can be put in the following points:

- The uprooting and the transfer from Africa to America caused feelings of shock, isolation, and homesickness;
- Their rightless position in the plantation system;
- The maltreatment by the masters (i.e. inhuman working conditions and inhuman punishments).

Their reactions can be classified as: adaptation, passive resistance, open resistance, "small" marronage, revolt and marronage. Adaptation was difficult, gradual and usually a process of long duration during which the plantation system was accepted and in which the establishing of family relationship and kinship were important factors; passive resistance consisted mainly in pretending illness, or dodging work; open resistance manifested itself in sabotage, poisoning, selfmutilation, conspiration; "small" marronage in temporarily leaving the plantation to avoid punishment, to visit a wife or kinsman on another plantation or to assist religious gatherings. Revolts and marronage occurred mostly on one or two plantations at a time. The slaves in Surinam never united to carry out a large–scale rising.

If these revolts were not quelled, they often resulted in looting and setting fire to the plantation and killing master and staff, and running away to join the existing groups of maroons (De Groot 1984).

Eighteenth century: guerilla warfare

Policy of the colonists

The running away of slaves was already reported since 1650 and when Indian slaves were used these also escaped into the forests or up the rivers (the Surinam, the Saramaka and the Coppename river). Both Negroes and Indians harrassed the plantations. During this period a group of maroons, who had settled at Para Creek and later on the Coppename river, already numbered several hundred.

Governor van Sommelsdijk who arrived in Suriname in 1683 made peace with the Indians as well as with a group of maroons of whom no more was heard afterwards. But the number of slaves who took to freedom mounted, thus heightening the unrest in the colony. After a rising in 1690 on a Jewish plantation, in the course of which the owner was killed and all the slaves escaped into the forest, the colony was forced to conceive of a more effective policy to check the loss of valuable slaves and plunder of plantations by the maroons. Many attempts were made. During the governorship of Van Sommelsdijk an armed civilian guard had been formed, consisting of eleven companies (one of which was Jewish). It undertook patrols against maroons, but without much success, so that from 1730 onwards soldiers were also used. the penalties for running away were made more severe: after 1721 it was punished by death. The reward for the capturing of maroons was regularly increased: in 1685 it was 5 florins, in 1698, 25 and later still 50. But all these measures proved unavailing and the number of slaves joining the maroons kept increasing, especially after 1712, when panic broke out amongst the colonists during an invasion by the French Admiral Jacques Cassard which caused them to send their wives and children, accompanied by their slaves, into the forest. The women and children returned, but a large number of slaves chose to stay away and join the existing groups. At that time there were about 400 plantations, about 50,000 slaves and 2,000 whites. More than 10% of the slaves had run away. In 1730, after the plantations had suffered many attacks, a number of expeditions were undertaken, which resulted in the discovery and destruction of two notorious maroon villages on the Saramaka river. However, Governor Mauricius, who came to Surinam in 1742, declared that the expeditions had not the intended effect, and had done more damage than good. They increased the selfconfidence not only of the runaways, but also of the slaves and made the paths through the forest, leading to the Maroons known to them.

Accordingly he decided to change the policy of the colony and in 1749 he examined the possibility of negotiating with the maroons and making peace with them (as Van Sommelsdijk had done in 1684 and as the English

had done with the maroons in Jamaica in 1739 where the colonists had been exposed to the same dangers).

Policy of the Maroons

Once the slave's decision to become a maroon had been taken, it was necessary to organize the escape. Usually the routes to be taken were known, because the existing maroon groups kept furtive contacts with the slaves of the plantations. This meant that often fellow slaves and kinsmen were reunited. Although new maroons were accepted by the existing groups they were nevertheless put to a harsh test. The men had to prove to be reliable, had to be initiated in guerilla warfare and both men and women had to learn to conform to the stern rules of a group under wartime stress and authoritive military leadership with stringent religious and moral codes.

The maroons developed their specific fighting tactics (which, under similar circumstances, proved to be the same as in other areas of the Americas). They attacked plantations out of necessity: they needed weapons, women and implements to survive. Acts of revenge on their former masters sometimes led to bloodshed, arson and murder. In the forest they kept on the move if they were pursued by the military expeditions, which was often the case. They avoided fighting in open fields, maintained a network of spies and look-outs and were hardly ever surprised by the whites, who were unused to this kind of tropical warfare and hampered by their often very large train of bearers. They were clever at luring patrols into ambushes, preferably in the marshes and, being good shots, seldom wasted their powder. Whenever they built villages they reinforced them with pallisades and often situated them in almost inaccessible places, with secret entrances. They made the best out of the fact that they were by far outnumbered by the enemy, by attacking in small parties and withdrawing quickly. There was very little contact between the different maroon groups. The area each particular group chose to move to, often depended on where the plantation, from which they had come, was situated and on tribal ties and other relationships with already existing nuclei of maroons. In order to survive each group needed a relatively large area, where they could roam about easily with the possibility of moving their plots under horticulture, should a village come under attack and where the hunting and fishing grounds were adequate.

Peace settlements

As we saw above Governor Mauricius decided to force the maroons to open peace negotiations by means of a huge expedition, in spite of the

opposition of the members of the council, who did not see the good of making peace at all and shrank from the expenses of the expedition.

Three major groups of maroons had by now formed: one called the Saramakas living upstream on the Suriname river, one called Matuaris, living on the Saramaka river and another called the Djukas, living upstream on a tributary of the Marowijne, called Djuka creek. The choice fell on the Saramakas and an expedition with 1,000 soldiers was sent. Contact was made with their Chief Adu, negotiations were succesful and the peace was based on the treaty of 1739 made with the maroons in Jamaica. Ratification was to have taken place after a due amount of presents had been sent to the maroons. These presents were sent, but since the reluctant Council considered military convoys too expensive, only a few whites and bearers made the trip. The group was attacked and all were massacred. Chief Adu, waiting in vain and assuming that the negotiations were a ruse, resumed guerilla activities and plantations were attacked as before.

Only ten years later a new attempt was made. Now, however, it was another group, the Djukas, who themselves made overtures by leaving leaflets on attacked plantations expressing their willingness to negotiate. The colonists adopted a more cautious policy and contacted the maroons, by first sending two slaves trusted by both parties and then a peaceful expedition. After long palavers the peace treaty came about in 1760, formulated again in the same way as the one in Jamaica. Now the Saramakas and the Matuaris at their own wishes followed suite and peace was concluded also with them two years later. Maroons as well as colonists rejoiced but not for long; from 1765 until 1793 a fierce guerilla war was fought by a newly formed group: the Bonis, named after their leader Boni. They attacked scores of plantations and had their strongholds in the marshes and forests surrounding the plantation area of the Commewyne and Cottica rivers near the coast. Their skilled warfare compelled the colonists to build a system of connecting military posts encircling the plantations and to ask help from the mother country in the form of an expeditionary army. This army (1,200 men, with the help of a corps of Black Chasseurs of 300 men (De Groot 1988), succeeded in 1776 after heavy fighting and heavy losses in driving the Bonis over the frontier river, the Marowyne, into French Guyana. Peace was never made with them and they continued to bother the colony intermittently until 1793. The final blow to their fighting spirit was given by their fellowblacks the Djukas, who turned against them after having been their allies: the Bonis had moved up river and the Djukas felt that their free pathway to the coastal area was being threatened, and moreover, they were being set up against the Bonis by a sly colonialist policy of playing the two groups off against each other. The Paramount Chief of the Djukas mounted a

campaign against the Bonis and killed their old leader Boni as well as some of his warchiefs in 1793 (De Groot 1975, 1982b; Hoogbergen 1990).

Nineteenth century: adjustments and new attitudes

Maroon societies

The peace–settlements gave the maroons the opportunity to change from guerilla fighters into peaceful communities. They could now live in permanent settlements, develop their rules for kinship relations and political hierarchies and evolve religious and moral codes and ensure their means of existence.

Although the Surinam maroons date the beginnings of their oral tradition from their struggle for freedom, they are keenly aware of the fact that Africa is the land of their forefathers. In their cultural pattern which consists of an amalgamation of various elements, those of African origins play a most important role.

State within a state

The peace treaties allowed the maroons a fair amount of autonomy. Apart from the stipulation, which often was a cause of friction, that they were to deliver new runaways or help to hunt them down for, or together with the colonists, they formed what usually was called a "state within a state".

Relationships between maroons and government remained strained. A historically grown distrust, conditioned by their past as slaves, their long struggle to gain independence and the fear that their hardearned liberty could be endangered if they were to yield to government proposals, pervaded their contacts with western civilisation. Nevertheless they had — and still have — a keen apreciation of the western technological achievements and knowledge, but they definitely do not regard their own accomplishments as inferior. Even though they are not prepared to sacrifice their independent existence and culture, they are not averse to learning ways of furthering their well–being within their own community. Clearly the maroons and the coastal society differed in attitudes and opinions towards each other. These differences have been conditioned amongst other things by attitudes towards the peace treaties: the maroons were convinced that it was they who had initiated peace negotiations and that they had never been defeated. The whites on the other hand claimed that they had enforced peace on the maroons by retaliating. According to the maroons the peace treaties regulated freedom and autonomy within their own region. The whites considered the benefit of the treaties to be the prevention of renewed attacks and the diminishing of new maroons. The

maroons considered that the large amount of presents which was sent to them regularly, was part and parcel of the treaty. The government however regarded them to be a special favour. The maroons feared that the whites would renew hostilities and that they (the maroons) would be recaptured as slaves; the colonists feared that the maroons, either single or together, would renew guerilla activities and thus ruin the colony. These convictions, together with feelings of pride and prestige, made giving in and compromise difficult. The ambivalent attitudes of both parties influenced attitudes whenever the circumstances changed.

Policies of isolation and integration

Efforts to stress isolation from or integration in the plantation colony of the maroons changed several times from 1650 onwards. I have divided these changing policies into the following periods.

- From 1650 to 1793 guerilla war waged intermittently. While the maroons sought to live in freedom, by hiding deep in the forest, and occasionally attacking plantations, the colonists sent patrols and armies in order to get their property back or to destroy the maroons. This was a special kind of contact that can be considered to be a policy of isolation on the part of the maroons and of integration on the part of the colonists.
- From 1793 to 1835, after the last group of maroons ceased to bother the colony, both parties were content, where possible, to lead a separate existence. They maintained this policy, apart from occasions when parties of maroons, whose numbers were determinated by the peace treaty, came to the plantation areas to smuggle or sell their products, mainly wood, for food and implements. They returned to their regions as soon as business was completed.
- From 1835 to 1856 several changes in the circumstances of both occurred. Slowly the maroon population started to grow. Their precarious balance of existence was often disturbed, and in times of want bigger groups came to the plantations for supplementary provision. Fear of renewed hostilities was diminishing. Slave trade had been prohibited and the lack of supplies forced the plantation owners to be more careful with their slaves than before. Marronnage diminished. In 1835, 1837 and 1838 new clauses were inserted in the old treaties, which gave the maroons more freedom to move — in number as well as in space. Many of them used this freedom to come down the rivers with wood to trade or to smuggle with the slaves of the plantations. Efforts of the government, first to regulate the trade by enforcing a pass system, then to concentrate

the maroons in special areas in order to keep them under control were to no avail, and only strained relationships.

- From 1856 to 1863 the colony, confronted with the failure of its policy and with a new important development, namely the irreversable process leading to abolition of slavery, now decided to change its policy towards the maroons decisively, realizing that in view of the dreaded shortage of manpower they needed to take measures. They initiated a policy to use the untapped source of maroons and draw them into the plantation economy. The treaty regulations of 1760 and 1835 were changed in 1856 and the maroons were given complete freedom to move. Their paramount Chiefs were now payed a salary and the sending of presents was abandoned. Parties of government–officials were sent to the different maroon groups to convince them of the advantages of trading with, and working for the colony. The maroons however were reluctant to come, because they knew from experience that the self–interested whites stood most to gain from this, and they decided only to act in accordance with it if their own purpose could be served. They refused to return to he plantations as labourers (De Groot 1977).
- From 1863 to well after the turn of the century the maroons were very much left to their own devices. They continued to grow in numbers, traded with the coastal area, carried freight up and down the fast flowing, rock strewn rivers, were involved in jobs as lumberjacks, and indulged in other temporary work such as balata bleeding, and migrated for shorter or longer periods to the coastal areas. The colony lost interest in them, as they were involved in handling immigrants from Asia who were to save their remaining plantations from complete desintegration.

Twentieth century: modernization

Development policies of the government

The Netherlands' political policy of the early 1900's called "Ethical system" was aimed at the economic and social advancement of the colonial population by means of education, improved medical services and agricultural methods and by carrying out public works. The effort to improve Surinam's economic situation was linked to the other country's long term aim at curtailing her own expenditure. In view of this policy attention in Surinam was once again drawn to the isolated groups of maroons: they were of no productive value to the colony, they lived according to their own political and religious codes, evade administrative jurisdiction and,

in short, one had no hold on them. All this had to be changed, for their sake and that of the colony, and while promoting their welfare, the discharge of a "moral debt" towards a neglected group would give ethical satisfaction. These considerations gave rise to the proposal to appoint an administrative official (called "postholder"), to give elementary, secular education as well as agricultural guidance and simple medical aid to one of the maroon societies: the Djukas, now living along another tributary of the Marowyne river: the Tapanahoni. This "development project" *avant la lettre* failed. Some reasons for this are given below.

The government labelled the enterprise as an experiment. This meant that there was little continuity: financial provision was to be made once a year and the amount determined by short term success or failure. The government's inadequate knowledge of the situation inland resulted in wrong instructions and ineffective advice to the executer of the project. The Djuka community resented the whole plan as they had not been told about it beforehand and certainly had not been consulted.

The postholder took the task upon him single–handed. In spite of his dedication the scope of the project was too large for one man. He know the Djuka society well and felt sympathy for them. Nevertheless his position and feelings were ambivalent: he anticipated the same material results as his employers although he laid more stress on the moral side of the work. Preference was given to non–Christian education because the attempts made by Moravian Brothers had failed. Although the postholder praised the high moral standards of the Djukas, he found their religious practices abhorrent. He regarded western civilization as being inseparable from Christianity and thought that by a "backdoor policy" as he called it, the Djukas would come to adopt Christianity as a natural course of event (De Groot 1969).

Reactions of the Maroons

As we have seen, the Djukas had mixed feelings towards western civilization. They had become even more convinced that the balance of political and religious power within their society would be upset, should they fall in with the proposed development project. Although the Paramount Chief and High Priest are the personification of power one cannot speak of an autocratic system. Administrative as well as religious organizations have to exercise their power on basis of dependence connections. Political manoeuvring is useful in the wielding of power. If the colonial administration is drawn into these manoeuvres than it is looked upon as "intriguing with the whites" and is closely related to treason (Thoden van Velzen 1966). The activities of the postholder often gave rise to resistance among the

Djukas, for he sometimes played one person or faction against the other while asking for help, thus upsetting the precarious balance.

The religious system of the maroon society is aimed at giving protection against supernatural dangers. Any encroachment upon this system can have harmful results for the individual as well as for the community (Van Wetering 1973, 1975; Thoden van Velzen/van Wetering 1988). The fear that the ultimate intention of the development project was to overthrow this religious system was not removed by the project agent who, as we saw, himself followed an insidious "backdoor" policy.

The project, started in 1919, was discontinued in 1925 by the government and the postholder was recalled. The lack of success — naturally — blamed on the executor of the project and on the Djuka community. The latter, the government felt, had sabotaged any measure adopted to improve their welfare and had not shown any appreciation of the government's good intentions.

Migration policies

We have seen that the maroons gradually got more and more used to taking shorter or longer trips to the coastal area in order to earn money by trading, river–transport, and lumberjacking. During the turn of the century a minor, but intensive goldrush occurred in the frontier area between French Guyana and Surinam. Many maroons served as carriers of freight and labourers for the treasure hunters who had rushed to the area. This opportunity for earning money soon dwindled to nothing together with the yield of gold from the placers.

Up to World War II the maroons were affected more or less in the same way by this migration policy. The men left their village for varying periods in order to earn enough to buy provisions in the city before returning home and sharing them between their wifes and relatives; they performed their duties in their community and started out on the next journey (Price 1975).

After 1945 this pattern changed in some respects. Migrating became much more intensive. Many more maroons got involved in the money and labour economy of the coastal area. Although they still are mainly unskilled, the variety of possibilities has grown. As a result of a comprehensive development plan for Surinam, they could find work in the constructions of airfields, roads, in mining (bauxite) and the building of a hydroelectric dam. In spite however of the time spent working alongside people other than their kinsmen, the maroons do not seem to integrate in the multiracial coastal society. They keep very much to themselves, do not mix with other groups not even with other maroons groups. Integration through marrying a creole girl is rare. Even if a maroon does

decide to stay and live in these new surroundings he will frequent mostly kinsmen, will not break habits which have been formed by his religion and culture and stay in contact with his homestead. Only recently a small number of them have received a western education. It must be said that the government and the people of the coastal area are reluctant in giving the maroons any special treatment or consideration. Housing conditions such as the government's special guesthouses for maroons are very poor indeed. They therefore prefer to rent cabins in the backyards of landlords who profit excedingly from this set–up. Housing conditions are poor also here, and rents are relatively high, but the maroons feel free to move and can choose with whom they want to share their tiny rooms.

Their labour is appreciated rather highly, but that does not mean that they are treated better or even on a level with their co–workers. They have up to this day been considered as "heathen" unkempt, boorish, uneducated "bushnegroes". There is on the other hand also a good deal of romanticizing about them: intellectual creoles, looking for identity, find in their heroic history a source of pride. Moreover, the creoles hold the maroon magic in awe, even though, or because, it ressembles their own syncretized religious beliefs.

Migration to the coastal area in such mounting numbers as has occurred in the last years, has consequences for those staying behind: shortage of manpower for building houses and boats, clearing agricultural plots, performing religious and political duties. The birthrate is falling and the structure of their society is threatened. This again encourages emigration.

The coastal area which already is suffering from a high rate of unemployment has little to offer and more often than not the maroons live in miserable conditions. In 1975 the government considered a new policy. In order to clear the city and its surroundings of some of its poor, they drew up a plan which features building welfare centres in the interior. In these centres, focussed on growing oil palms and producing and selling the oil, and provided with attractive modern facilities, they hoped to induce those maroons who live in their own region to stay there, and those who have migrated to come back. This severely criticized plan never came to life. Many plans, products of governmental policies, have failed for a multitude of reasons as we have seen above. Only if the maroons can be firmly convinced that their marginal society will really profit from the project — and it is not easy to convince them of the benefits of profound changes — will they be persuaded to take the risk of participating in it. Only then has such a project any chance of success. The maroons are hardworking, clever, cooperative and inventive people if they believe in a cause and are given the correct tools.

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Population of Surinam in History

TABLE 1.

Year	Slaves		Whites	Plantations
1668	714	(men)	2,100	400
1738	57,000		2,100	400
1786	50,000		3,350	500
1791	53,000		3,300	591
1830	53,000		8,500	451
1863	33,600		16,500	162

TABLE 2.

Year	Maroons	Indians	Manumitted	Former slaves
1863	8,000	2,000	5,600	33,600

Year	Maroons	Indians	Coastal People	Total population
1924	18,163	2,580	112,800	133,543
1964	27,698	7,287	289,226	324,211
1971	39,500	10,200	333,500	383,200

TABLE 3.

	1964 census		1971 census	
Creoles	114,961	36%	118,000	31%
Hindustani	112,633	35%	143,000	37%
Indonesian	48,463	15%	58,000	15%
Chinese	5,339	1.7%	6,400	2%
European	4,293	1.3%	4,000	1%
Maroons	27,698	9%	39,500	10%
Indians	7,287	2.3%	10,200	3%
Others	3,627	1.1%	5,100	1%
Total	324,211	100%	383,200	100%

TABLE 4.

Maroons	1964 census		1971 census
Djuka	14,597	53%	—
Saramacca	8,872	32%	—
Paramaca	1,632	6%	—
Matuari	1,391	5%	—
Boni (Surinamese)*	279	1%	—
Kwinti	117	0.5%	—
Others	820	2%	—
Total	27,698	100%	39,500

*Boni (French) ± 3,000

WOMEN SLAVES AND REBELS IN GRENADA

Brigitte Kossek (Vienna)

Profit as the primary goal of production played a decisive role in the large-scale deportation of Africans to the Carribean and their subordination as slaves.[1] British plantation slavery was first established in Barbados in the Carribean Islands from 1640–50. It was integrally connected with the needs of the early phase of British capitalism (primitive accumulation), defined as an early mode of capitalist labour control (Wallerstein 1979). The beginning of proletarisation in Great Britain and the establishment of plantation slavery are two different moments of the same historical process, i.e. the development of new lucrative possibilities of capital accumulation. The phase of primitive accumulation (as the phase of transition from feudalism to capitalism) in Great Britain was mainly characterised by the deprivation for producers of their means of production (MEW 23:741–792). The use of violence was an efficient economic method of ensuring profit; it was also a method applicable beyond national borders.

The attacks of the European on the Carribean Islands ended in most cases in the physical extermination of the Indians.[2] The primary value of most of the islands was in the land itself. Profit production on a small scale with tobacco was then realised by exporting British male labourers (indentured servants), sometimes by means of force.[3]

The expansion of profit production through sugar cane required not only a greater investment of capital and additional means of production (e.g. sugar mill), but also a huge amount of labour. Around 1774 the

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[1] From 1651 to the abolition of the British slave trade in 1808 approximately 1.9 million Africans were deported to the British, and 1.65 million to the French possessions in the Carribean. West Africa especially was affected very heavily. In the late 18th century, the East African Coast and the Congo were also transformed into suppliers of slaves. At that time the proportion of imported female slaves also increased. 10% were enslaved children (KLEIN 1978:238–44; AUGIER et al 1982:67; PATTERSON 1967:125–9).

[2] In Grenada or Camerhogues, as it was called at the time by the indigenous popuilation, the four year resistance struggle of the Indians ended in 1654 in their collective suicide to escape colonisation.

[3] Special Trade Companies in Great Britain and in France also organised the transportion of poor women, mainly as houseworkers and bedfellows (PARES 1960:16; WILLIAMS 1970: 98f).

capital investment for a sugar plantation in Grenada was approximately three times as high as a comparable agricultural undertaking in Great Britain (Anonymous 1774:25). The factors influencing the importing of African slaves were economic calculations, but not economic pressures: it was cheaper to buy a slave than to buy the labour power of a British wage worker for several years (Williams 1981:19). Plantation slavery was ideologically justified by the assumption at that time of the inferiority of people of another culture and skin color. Edward Long, a British plantation owner in Jamaica, wrote in 1774:

> In general, they [i.e. the slaves] are void of genius, and seem almost incapable of making any progress in civility. [...] They have no plan or system of morality among them [...] it being a common known proverb, that all people on the globe have some good as well as ill qualities, except the Africans. [...] That the orang- outang and some races of black men are very nearly allied, is, I think, more than probable. (Long 1774; 1970:353, 365).

Racism functioned as an ideology justifying brutality and it was legally institutionalized in the form of plantation–slavery.

In conformity with their economic value, the West Indies were regarded as the 'jewel' in England's Crown in the 18th century (Williams 1970:152). Around 1776 the tiny island of Grenada (311 km^2) was, following Jamaica, Great Britain's most valuable possession.

> Grenada [...] exports more produce to Great Britain and Ireland and consumes within itself more British and Irish commodities, than any of our West Indian Islands, Jamaica alone excepted. (Gov. Macartney to Lord Germain, Grenada 20th June 1776/CO 101/20/1776–7).

The aim of investing an extensive amount of capital for sugar production, the mercantile product par excellence, was to receive profits as large as possible within a span of time as short as possible. The profits were realisable only in Great Britain, where they could be enlarged by further investment, e.g. in the new industries. Through their working–power and their commercialization, the slaves were forced to aid the development of the beginning of industrial society in Great Britain.[4]

In Grenada, each slave produced an average of 8.70 cwt. sugar between 1818 and 1824. In Trinidad and St. Vincent the rates of the slaves' work was even higher with 11.80 and 10.40 cwt., respectively (Anti–Slavery Monthly Reporter 1827–29/2:11).

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[4]Eric Williams' assumption that the profits coming out of the West Indies were one of the main sources to financing for the industrial revolution needs further examination and is relatively broadly discussed (e.g. WIRZ 1984).

The commodity 'slave'

In the same way as the land, the sugar mill and other plantation essentials, slaves could be bought and sold at the market. Like all other commodities they were placed under the discretion of their owners. Consequently, "the cutting off of an ear was not considered as maiming at common law" (Attorney General, Grenada 1825, in: Sessional Papers, Vol.15, 1825:309). The limit of arbitrariness in maintaining their slaves was set by the interest of the slave owners, as the slaves represented capital investment.

Regarding the exchange value of the slaves — i.e. the sum of the value they personified for their owners — it was generally higher than that of other the means of production. In Grenada slaves represented not only the most important but also the largest part of the total capital investment; "no person would give anything for land without Negroes" (Excerpt from a letter from Grenada, dated 21st March 1797, CO 101/8/1747–1812/196). In 1812, a value of 1,793,165 pounds Sterling was assigned to the slaves, compared to one million pounds Sterling for the cultivated land (cf. Table 3).

Until the beginning of the parliamentary debate on the abolition of the slave trade around 1788 which was stimulated by the movement of the abolitionists, female slaves were imported in smaller numbers than male slaves. They were ususally one third of the total number of slaves and were also bought for a lower price:

> Putting Tradesmen and Drivers out of the Question, and speaking only of able, healthy, young Field Slaves, the average Value of a Creol Man of that description, may be stated at present in Grenada at sixty Pounds Sterling, and that of a Creol woman at fifty five Pounds Sterling. (Answers to Questions submitted to the Agents for West Indian Affairs, Grenada 28th May 1788, CO 101/29/1788).

The slaves were legally established as a part of the inheritable, mortgagable and executable private property. In the case of the death of their husbands, white women also could 'enjoy' the legal ownership of slaves. "An act to make slaves, cattle, horses, mules, asses, coppers, stills and plantation utensiles, real estate of inheritance and declaring widows dowable of them, as the lands and tenements." (Grenada 2nd May 1767, CO 103/1/1767). In Grenada, white women numbered between approximately 20% and 27% of the white population (see Table 1). There is no reason to believe that their relationships to the female and male slaves were more humane or less racist than those of their husbands, fathers and sons. The main difference to their male counterparts was that they apparently did not have sexual affairs with slaves; this is probably due

mainly to the ideology surrounding British womanhood, with all its sexist and racist implications.

The specific use value of the slaves was their working power, which made it possible to run other and different means of production, such as the sugar mill. Beyond that they could also be used as an alternative to various working instruments such as the plough, which had otherwise to be imported expensively. The cane fields and all other parts of the plantation were practically worthless without the corresponding slave labour. This specific use value of the slaves, as substantiated through their working power, demonstrated their status as human beings to their masters and mistresses, a status which is denied in their exchange value. Herein also lies their potential ability to oppose the plantation regime.

The slaves' conditions of survival

The life span of the slaves was limited, just as in the case with heavily used machines. The costs for their maintenance were capital investments and were, therefore, dependent on considerations of profitability. In Grenada the mortality rates of the slaves were, during the entire period of slavery, higher than their birth rates. Even in the 19th century, between 1818 and 1831, it was recorded that 9,693 slave–children were born and 11,862 slaves died (Slave Registration 1833:2f.).

Around 1788, the yearly costs for a slave were four pounds sterling. This included saltfish, flour and clothes, mainly traded for rum from the Colonies in North America. In 1825, the slaves in Grenada were formally allowed by law to work on provision grounds–grounds 28 days a year (earlier: 18 days). Craton (1982:50) assumes that the provision–grounds were assigned to the male slaves, but they were worked by both sexes.

Because of the short life span of the slaves, as well as the interruption of their affiliation to the plantation by sale or by mortgaging, their chances of developing relationships based on kin were very small. Therefore, the slaves established a system of 'sponsorship' to assist each other. It included incest taboos between god–children who had the same god–parents. The slaves' memories of Africa also influenced the structure of these social survival networks.

The 'discovery' of the uterus' value of the female slaves

Until the beginning of the parliamentary debate in Great Britain in 1788 on abolishing the slave trade, it was regarded as more profitable by slave owners and their representatives in Grenada and other island to replace slaves by importing slaves already able to work rather than to raise slave

children. The survival chances of slave children were, therefore, extremely small. The rearing of slave children contradicted the short–term expectations of profits.

Interrogation of Mr. John Terry, plantation manager in Grenada between 1776 and 1790:

> Question: While you were a manager, did you ever receive directions to pay any very particular attention to pregnant women and their children?
> Answer: No, never.
> Question: Have you ever heard other managers express any opinion respecting the pregnancy of women, or the rearing of children?
> Answer: Yes; their opinion was, that it would be cheaper to buy slaves from Africa than to breed children.
> Question: Did you ever hear them say anything about young children?
> Answer: Sucking children I have; they have said, that they had rather they would die; for they lost a great deal of the mother's work during the infancy of the child.
> Question: What, as far as you understood on the spot, was the greatest recommendation of a manager?
> Answer: That he made the most sugar.
> (Sessional Papers, Vol.82, 1791 & 92:83).

According to the calculations of the slave owners, pregnancy, delivery and the rearing of a child meant an economic loss, as it meant a disruption of the mother's labour in the cane fields. The first 12 years of a slave child were regarded as expenses which began to be recovered only after this period of time. In Jamaica they estimated a cost of 112 pounds sterling for rearing a child. This sum included the loss of the mother's work caused by pregnancy and delivery, as well as insurance costs to cover the risk of the death of the child before it reached the age of twelve (Hall 1962:307). Slave owner Edward Long in 1774:

> I will not deny that those Negroes breed the best, whose labour is least, or easiest. Thus the domestic Negroes have more children, in proportion, than those on penns; and the latter, than those who are employed on sugar plantations. If the number of hogsheads, annually made from any estate exceeds, or even equals, the whole aggregate of Negroes employed upon it, but few children will be brought up on such estate, whatever number may be born; for the mothers will not have sufficient time to take due care of them. [...] But where the proportion of the annual produce is about half a

> hogshead for every Negroe, there they will [...] increase very rapidly. (Vol. 2, 1774; 1970:437).

With the end of the slave trade in sight, the use value of the female slaves received new and additional importance because of their ability to produce replacements for dead slaves, in addition to their ability to work in the fields in the same way as the male slaves. The specific female potential to bear children, defined before 1788 as unprofitable, turned the female body into an additionally profitable 'field of appropriation', usable by the slave owners. Primitive accumulation was, therefore, not only confined in the application of violence beyond national borders but extended in a very specific way to the female salves' bodies as costless 'territory'.[5]

The claim of the slave owner to the prospective slave began at the time when the ovum in the uterus of the female slaves started to develop. From 1788 onwards, special laws were enacted in Grenada "to promote the Natural Increase of the Slave Population." Female slaves who had borne more than six living children were freed from work in the field (CO 101/29/1788). The child-bearing of the female slaves was termed breeding. Chief Justice Sanderson:

> The proprietors of estates have not considered the women in any better light than they did their cows. The managers took care of their breeding women as they did for their breeding cows, and she who made the most children was the most valuable subject (Grenada 1834, CO 101/78/1834).

The owners' right of disposal also included the sexual use of their bodies. Rape was a special and institutionalised method of humilating women and giving them the status of defenceless objects (Davis 1984:24). A Report from the Selected Committee on the State of West India Colonies stated:

> It is very common for the Owners or Overseers of slaves to keep [...] slaves in a State of Concubinage on their respective Properties; and, generally speaking, they are not limited in number. [...] The System of Slavery invests the Proprietors or Overseer with an unlimited Power over his Slaves, I will now say his Female Slaves [...] When the Overseers and Bookkeepers visit each other at their convenial Parties, it is

[5] MEILLASSOUX 1976, in his criticism on Marx sees primitive accumulation as a continued process of 'costless converting of values' which is imminent within the capitalist mode of production (p.123). "Women's first and last 'means of production' is their own body" (MIES 1986:170). Specific violence against women is therefore rightly characterized by Mies as an element of the ongoing primitive accumulation. But it is important to see its racist implications.

> not unusual for the Female Slaves to be collected and shown, that each may choose a Companion for the Night. (Imperial Blue Books 1832:497, 516).

Rape was ideologically justified by the postulate of the 'black sex-obsessed savage' (Hooks 1983:24). Rape between slaves was punished by death, like murder, because it was considered wantonly 'using or destroying' other people's property (The King versus John Philip Indicted for a Rape on the person of Christian: CO 101/78/1834).

The 'adventures' of the white phallus were expressions of patriachal wantoness on the basis of their social power. Racism in the context of plantation slavery was neither a gender neutral ideology nor a gender neutral institution.

The Female Slaves and the Organisation of Work on the Plantation

After 1808 the female slaves composed the majority of the field-gang, not only in Grenada but in many other islands (see Table 2). They were usable in a fourfold manner:

1. as saleable commodities (multifunctional private property)
2. as workers
3. as producers of new slaves. They were also solely responsible for the maintenance of the children, who could be sold at any time to another plantation or another island until 1825.
4. as sex objects.

Within the combined working (agricultural and so-called industrial) process, the female slaves were expected to work with the same intensity as the male slaves.[6]

The working process was organised on a low technical level; only a small minority of specialised slaves was needed. Their skills, such as those of a boiler for example, depended mainly on practical experience, which all slaves were able to achieve insofar as they survived a certain time on the plantation. Therefore, access to privileged work was also dependent on signs of loyality vis-à-vis their white owners and handymen, who organised the working process; also on the principle of 'divide and rule'. The few specialised jobs on the plantation were available only for male slaves, as this corresponded with British ideology, which denied women special abilities beyond the kitchen. House-slaves were to a large extent

[6] According to their physical capacity for work, the slaves were grouped into three gangs (EDWARDS, vol. ii, 1801:156 ff.).

female, but here, too, they were supervised by male slaves such as the butler. This means that access to a more privileged position, such as being freed from working in the sugar-cane fields, or a better means of provision, were available for female slaves not on terms of special skills in connection with the working process but rather the sexual disposal of their body.

The rebellious female property

The whip as economic means of motivating the slaves was not sufficient to control the mass of slaves, as opposed to the small minority of their owners and their handymen. The reckless use of violence, especially on slaves showing signs of resistance, aimed to produce an 'easily handled commodity'. It started on the slave-ship and was known as the 'breaking-in process'[7]; it meant the continuous attempt to make the slaves realise their status as an object of a 'natural' peculiarity by destroying their human (specifically African) dignity and identity. Regarding the female slaves, it also included violent control over their ability to bear children and over their sexuality.

Resistance is as much a characteristic of the history of the slaves as is their exploitation. Resistance within the system of plantation slavery cannot only be expressed in terms of the number of rebellions; the term resistance also has to include all attempts of the slaves to free themselves from the status of a commodity. Of special significance, apart from rebellions, was the development of the slaves' underground culture, with its African background (Kossek 1986:308–13). They created for themselves a means of identity as well as means of communication. Special laws prohibited, under the threat of severe punishment, not only gatherings of slaves outside of their masters' control but also "to beat any drum or drums, or empty Casks, or Boxes or great Gourds, or to blow Horns, Shell, or loud Instruments" (An Act for the better Government of Slaves, Grenada 1767, CO 103/1/1767). Furthermore, the development of distinct relationships by the slaves in the slave quarters has to be understood as part of their resistance to being reduced to commodities. The conditions for rebellion were extremely restricted. The most well-known rebellion of the slaves in Grenada lasted almost two years; its suppression succeeded in 1796, with the help of more than 6000 British soldiers. The slave owners' economic loss amounted to 2.5 million pounds sterling (see Table 4). The rebellion was an important factor contribut-

[7]BRIZAN 1984:84; the process, as well as different forms of the slaves' resistance, is very well described in MARTIN 1985.

ing to Grenada's reduced profitability (Kossek 1986: 444–53). In the British West Indies, the rebellion of the Grenadian slaves was one of the heaviest attacks against the British claims of property (Craton 1982:183). Resistance was brutally answered with torture and murder of both men and women, in an attempt to prevent a repetition. After 1788 the death penalty for pregnant slaves was postponed to after the birth of the child.

> The planters themselves have informed me that pregnant women have been frequently exposed to punishment; and that in such case a hole would be dug in the ground for the women's belly, for the purpose of preventing injury to the child. (Imperial Blue Books 1832:531).

Under the whip, as on the field, female and male slaves were equal.

The legal abolition of the whip in 1825, which was ordered by the British Government, caused the slave owners in Grenada to protest:

> The females compose the most numerous and effective part of the field gangs of the estate; from the indulgencies already extended to them they have shown themselves to be the most turbulent description of the Slaves, and would become perfectly unmanageable if they knew that this description of correction was abolished by law. It is therefore absolutely necessary (for the present) that it should be held in terrorem over them [...] If suddenly prohibited it is impossible to say what might be the consequences. (President Paterson to Earl Bathurst, Grenada 12th November 1825, in: Slavery Papers 1825–31:62f).

The female slaves in Grenada took part in all forms of resistance, such as insurrections, running away from the plantations, joining maroon societies, arson, murder of the slave owner, individual and collective suicide and refusal to work. Furthermore, the female slaves also tried to oppose the specific form of exploitation as 'breeding cattle' and lust objects, through active resistance against rape, refusal to bear children, abortion, killing of new–born slave–babies, and taking a long time to suckle the children in order to withdraw from work (Imperial Blue Books 1832:274).[8]

The slaves also did not accept the British form of marriage, which the slave owners forced upon them at the beginning of the 19th century in order to promote their natural increase. In Grenada, there has been only one case of marriage between slaves, contracted in 1822. The refusal of the female slaves to put new slaves into the plantation world was an important contribution to lowering the 'slave stock' which, after 1808,

[8]For the case of Trinidad, cf. Rhoda REDDOCK (1985:130) who refers to a five–year 'child–bearing strike' of the female slaves.

could no longer be filled by slave imports from Africa. In spite of rewards for successful slave mothers, the slave owners did not succeed in getting a self–reproducing 'stock of slaves': during the whole period of Plantation slavery in Grenada, the death rates of the slaves exceeded their birth rates.

The British 'Present of Freedom' and its Consequences for the Ex–Slaves in Grenada

The legal abolition of plantation slavery by the British state in 1838 for all their colonies in the Caribbean did not provide any direct answer, either to the revolutionary demands of the slaves' rebellions to abolish the system, or to the active contributions of the female and male slaves to make the form of exploitation they were bound to as unprofitable as possible. Therefore, the so–called British present of freedom meant the slaves' contribuition to transforming society remained invisible, as did their own meaning of freedom. The new societal freedom meant nothing more for the ex–slaves than to wait as potential wage workers for instructions 'from above'. The British slave owners were compensated for their slave–property as they were strongly opposed to the abolition of the system.

> In the names of justice and equity, if these be not unmeaning terms, we call upon the nation at large, to make a fair, a full, and ample compensation for the losses we must sustain [...] If we are continually to be considered as aliens and outcasts [...] the tie by which we are bound to the Mother Country must be considered as virtually severed, and the duty of allegiance at an end. (Public Meeting of Planters, Merchants, & c., Grenada 1831, CO 101/71/1831).

In Grenada, the slave owners received 616,255 pound sterling in compensation for their loss of 23,638 slaves form the British Government (Burns 1965:629).

The former slaves became dependent subsistence producers and provided as such new and profitable sources of revenues to the (partly new) plantation owners. The access to land by the former slaves was further controlled by capital owners and their representatives. The advantages of the new system were at least twofold: on the one hand, the capital owners had a large army of potential wage workers at their disposal who were responsible for their own reproduction to a large extent; on the other hand, the plots of land were too small for independent peasant subsistence, so they had to compete against each other for the jobs offered, also lowering the wage level. In this regard the 'progress' of freeing the slaves consisted

mainly of tying the slaves in a controlled manner to means of production (subsistence) (Werlhof 1985:138). Establishing subsistence production by integrating it at the same time into the progressing capitalist mode of production was from then onwards the foundation of the further inclusion of the British Caribbean into the capitalist world system. During the phase of integration into the capitalist mode of production as slaves, they were forced to acquire survival strategies, which meant, above all, to work as efficiently as possible on the provision–grounds they had access to. These historically acquired abilities of the ex–slaves were, on the one hand, used as a profitable basis for making (wage)costs the responsibility of the producers; on the other hand, these abilities also were the basis for their continuous attempt to live and produce independently. The ownership of land, no matter how little, became a symbol of freedom. The continued predominance of the plantation system and their need for labour was further defended by force and violence, and stood in opposition to the attempts of the ex–slaves to develop an autonomous system of production apart from the plantations in the hilly interior of the island; their chances of succeeding were extremely small (Brizan 1984).

Female world market producers of today in Grenada

Today Grenada still does not consume what is produced there but it consumes what is not produced there. The dependence on imported food stuffs amounts to 40% of all imports. The days of sugar are over; the majority of descendents of slaves are now mainly planting and harvesting bananas, nutmeg and cocoa, still with their hands and the cutlass. The male workers are classified as bread–winners and earn higher wages than the female workers, who do the same job but are classified as additional earners (Mies 1986:118). The majority of women in Grenada are still solely responsible for their children; 45.8% of all households are female–headed. Half of all children live with their single mother and/or their mothers (CARICOM 1985).

In 1979, 50% of the active population were unemployed — 69% were unemployed women. Many of them were and are forced to offer sexual services in order to receive employment; 'sex for favor' means for many women a small financial help — often with the consequence of having another child. The women are forced, to a larger extent than men, to develop survival strategies. Many of them work within the so–called informal sector of the economy in order to earn a living for themselves and their children. An essential part of the female survival strategies is the development of female networks based on family and friendship ties, as well as on common economic activities.

In Grenada in 1973, the social conditions connected with a plantation economy led to the formation of the liberation movement, the "New Jewel Movement" (NJM). The NJM was formed mainly by intellectuals who had studied abroad and had been radicalised by the Black Power Movement. From the very beginning, the NJM was broadly supported — including very active support by many women who were associated by their social networks. In 1979 the dictator was overthrown.[9]

Nearly 200 years ago, the rebellious slaves demanded freedom and equality, thus provoking the reaction of more than 6000 British troops. The revolution of 1979 demanded the realisation of self-determination on a national level, which was a challenge to the superpower USA. In 1983, a bloody putsch within the revolutionary government was a welcome pretence for the US invasion of Grenada by more than 6000 US soldiers.

The Grenadian revolution failed mainly in dealing with the difficult problem of overcoming the colonial inheritance in order to build a new society. Both factions of the Revolutionary Government failed to make use of the newly-built democratic institutions to inform the people about the problems going on within the Revolutionary Party; as a result, both of them excluded the majority of Grenadians for whom the revolution was meant.[10]

Although many projects remained in their initial or planning phase, a lot was achieved during the 4 1/2 year duration of the Revolution. For the first time in the history of Grenada the Revolution attempted, for example, the diversification of agriculture in order to diminish the extreme dependence on food imports, the development of new values for agricultural work, the building up of a cooperative sector, and small industries for processing raw materials. The education and health system was improved and made available to all. Better social conditions were created, especially for women. Nearly two thirds of all women were organised in the National Women's Organisation fighting, above all, against sexual exploitation and for equal pay for women. The alternative model of society in Grenada also brought hope for the masses of unemployed people on other islands who are living more or less under the same conditions. The US invasion is, therefore, also a direct threat to all those whose criticism might turn into political action.

Shortly after the invasion, a field study was started by the US Private Sector Development Organisation in order to work out proposals for re-

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[9]During my stay in Grenada in 1983 I obtained information through interviews with representatives of the Revolutionary Government of Grenada.

[10]See AMBURSLEY 1983, one of the first to criticise the Revolution before the putsch.

structuring the economy in Grenada. Its results stated the good potential of the island to produce flowers and vegetables for the US market (Barry et al. 1984). Under the supervision of the USA, Grenada is again incorporated into the world market, mainly as a supplier of raw materials, and increasingly as a partially industrialised supplier of ready made articles like most other islands in the Carribbean (Long 1987; Barry et al. 1984).[11] The most important resource of these world-market factories within the so-called Free Trade Zones are a small group of mostly (90%) female workers earning wages below the subsistence level.[12] They finish semi-manufactured products mostly from the USA like brassieres and other articles of clothing, sports articles, electronic products, etc. More than 300 years ago it was cheaper to replace workers from Great Britain with African slaves; today it is one of the management strategies to replace mainly female workers in the industrialised countries with workers living within the periphery. The measures have changed — but the logic is still the same. Consequently, women in Grenada or in Jamaica refer to Free Trade Zones as slave zones, just as they refer to their work on the plantation as slave work according to the working conditions and the merely symbolic character of their wages.[13] Trade unions are forbidden — the slightest sign of resistance means replacement by another woman. The organisation of profit production is still marked by racism and refers to gender principles as a means to assigning unpaid, underpaid and unspecialised jobs to women in Grenada and other islands of the Caribbean.

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[11]The Carribbean is becoming an increasingly important site for garment production aimed at the US market. In 1982 the Carribbean wage rates were significantly lower than those in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea and Singapore (WHEELER 1987). For detailed analysis of the new international division of labour see FRÖBEL et al. 1986.

[12]Incentives for investing in Grenada include a 15 year tax holiday, no personal income tax, dividends and other distributions from profits are tax exempt. One of the main provisions of the Carribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) is to eliminate duties on most of the products entering the United States. Different US institutions, for example, the Infrastructure of Productive Investment Project (IPIP), Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) offer reasonable conditions for production and inexpensive credits.

[13]During my last stay in Grenada in the summer of 1988, the following wages were stated for workers in the Free Trade Zone "Frequente Industrial Park": US$ 100 per month for permanently employed women and US$ 65 for temporary employed women. The few skilled jobs are almost exclusively held by male workers, who earn between US$ 210–370. Women working on plantations earn US$ 2.78 a day, men earn US$ 3.15. The prices for milk, margarine and chicken wings are higher than the prices in European supermarkets.

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CO 101/1–7/1763–1778: Original Correspondence
CO 101/8/1747–1812: Original Correspondence
CO 101/9–87/1762–1838: Original Correspondence, Despatches, Offices, Individuals
CO 103/1–13/1766–1838: Acts
CO 106/15–32/1821–1838: Blue Books

TABLE 1. Number of White Persons and Slaves in Grenada from 1763 until 1834

Year	Total Number of White Persons	Total Number of White Women	Number of Slaves above the age of 14
1763	1.225		10.531
1767			22.876
1772			26.211
1776			30.021
1777	1.324	290	35.118
1783	896	176	24.520
1784			23.926
1788			26.775
1792–94			above 30.000
1804			30.871
1805	1.100		31.229
1811	771		29.381
1812	841		28.791
1813	819		28.182
1814	823		27.679
1815	852		27.250
1816	794		27.234
1817	824		27.698
1818	868		27.415
1819	876		27.060
1820	883		26.910
1821			25.667
1822			25.586
1823	847	219	25.310
1824	827	210	24.972
1825	832	214	24.897
1826	834	222	24.581
1827	768	195	24.473
1828	782	205	24.342
1829	801	205	24.145
1830	761	193	23.821
1831	801		23.471
1832			23.164
1833			23.375
1834			21.074

Sources: CO 101/1/1763–71; CO 101/11/1765–68; CO 101/16/1771–72; CO 101/28/1787–89; CO 101/33/1792–94; CO 101/51/1812; CO 101/61/1821; CO 101/66/1826: CO 101/69/1829: CO 106/23–28/1828–34: Paterson MD-

TABLE 2. Female and Male Slaves in Grenada from 1812 to 1834

Year	Male Slaves	Female Slaves	Proportion of Female Slaves in %
1812	14.352	14.439	50,15
1813	14.026	14.156	50,23
1814	13.074	14.005	51,72
1815	13.484	13.766	50,52
1816	13.451	13.783	50,61
1817	13.510	14.188	51,22
1818	13.328	14.087	51,38
1819	13.155	13.905	51,39
1820	13.022	13.878	51,59
1821	12.398	13.269	51,70
1822	12.355	13.231	51,86
1823	12.258	13.052	51,57
1824	12.101	12.871	51,54
1825	12.057	12.840	51,57
1826	11.896	12.685	51,60
1827	11.841	12.632	51,62
1828	11.777	12.565	51,62
1829	11.738	12.397	51,37
1830	11.589	12.232	51,35
1831	11.386	12.085	51,49
1832	11.200	11.964	51,65
1833	11.319	12.056	51,58
1834	10.648	10.426	49,47

Sources: CO 101/61/1821; CO 101/66/1826; CO 101/69/-1829; CO 106/23–28/1829–34

TABLE 3. Estimated Value of Different Means of Production in Grenada, Jamaica and Barbados in 1812

	Grenada	Jamaica	Barbados
	(Pounds Sterling)		
Slave Labour (private property)	1.793.165	19.250.00	3.272.830
Cultivated Land	1.000.000	16.189.000	2.029.400
Uncultivated Land	30.000	1.914.812	5.000
Buildings, Utensils on Estates	890.000	12.709.450	1.644.000
Colonial Shipping (Export)	31.200	42.036	8.400

Source: Imperial Blue Books 1832:1024 f.

TABLE 4. Calculation of the Amount of Loss caused during the Rebellion between 1795–98 in Grenada

Kind of damage	Pound Sterling
65 sugar estates destroyed	390.000
35 coffee estates destroyed	35.000
Damage on buildings incl. slave huts	160.000
Loss of livestock	65.000
Loss of harvest 1795–98	1.500.000
7000 dead slaves (i.e. one–fourth of the slave–stock of 1795) a 50 Pounds Sterling	350.000
Total	2.500.000

Source: Garraway 1877:80

ESCLAVOS AFRICANOS Y ESCLAVOS CRIOLLOS: LA LINGÜÍSTICA COMO HISTORIA SOCIAL

Ulrich Fleischmann (Berlin)

Hasta hoy la investigación de las lenguas criollas está marcada por la oposición entre los "monogenetistas" y los "poligenetistas".[1] A partir de una perspectiva socio-histórica es bastante difícil de entender esta tensión que se refiere esencialmente a posiciones lingüísticas metódicamente divergentes tratando cuestiones diferentes que, en consecuencia, no se excluyen mutuamente.

El problema es conocido: La criollización de las lenguas coloniales (francés, inglés, portugués y español) en el Caribe no-hispánico y otras partes del mundo aparece junto con ciertas formas de colonización — aparentemente bajo formas extremas como la transplantación y deculturación de hombres y mujeres étnicamente diferentes dentro del marco de esclavitud en las sociedades de plantación. Esta criollización (lingüística pero también cultural en un sentido más amplio) produce variantes de las lenguas y culturas metropolitanas, que, a pesar de sus diferencias superficiales (sobre todo en el campo léxico), son estructuralmente parecidas.

¿Cómo se explica esta "unidad" de las lenguas criollas — que quizás no es tan grande como se había supuesto?[2] El concepto clave es el de "difusión": la escuela monogenetista, saliendo de la lingüística histórica, supone la existencia de un "proto-criollo" (p.e. el "sabir" marinero de los navegantes portugueses del siglo XVI) que, aprendido pronto, había servido a la mayoría de los esclavos como *lingua franca* y relexicado según la lengua colonial predominante. Para los poligenetistas, al contrario, los esclavos africanos llegaron a la colonia con sólo su lengua étnica, que no servía más que para la comunicación; para la reconstitución rápida de vehículos de comunicación debían recurrir a universales lingüísticas que, siendo iguales para todos los seres humanos, produjeron necesariamente resultados básicamente iguales.

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[1] Para entender el marco general de la exposición que sigue, vea A. BOLLÉE, "Problèmes et perspectives de la description des créoles", in *Langue française* 37 (1978) pp.21-39; L.-F. PRUDENT, *Des baragouins à la langue antillaise*, Paris 1980.

[2] Esta similitud aparece solamente en oraciones extremamente sencillas y "basilectales" (i.e. en formas idealizadas y poco afectadas por las lenguas dominantes) y es, por eso, muy difícil de comprobar en actos concretos de locución.

Así, tenemos la oposición de dos perspectivas extremas: Sea que la difusión explica todo — lo que es muy difícil de probar —, o que simplemente no existe, lo que contradice toda experiencia común. Es evidente que el individuo, el "esclavo típico", no es el lugar de la generación lingüística, sino una comunidad concreta que, por la experimentación y también difusión de varias estrategias lingüísticas, establece códigos diferentes según las necesidades cotidianas. Éstas, seguramente, cambiaron según las constelaciones históricas, pero pueden ser tipificadas. Así, nuestra cuestión en este contexto será la siguiente: ¿Qué pasó con las lenguas africanas durante las diferentes fases evolutivas del colonialismo en el Caribe? ¿Por qué desaparecieron y fueron sustituidas por lenguas criollas?

Lenguas Africanas en las Colonias Caribeñas

En cuanto a estas preguntas, monogenetistas y poligenetistas están superficialmente de acuerdo: para ambos las lenguas africanas desaparecieron muy rápidamente, porque eran disfuncionales dentro de la vida cotidiana de la colonia. Suponen una "ruptura", es decir, una muerte lingüística que implica también una muerte étnica y cultural de los pueblos traídos en la colonia.[3] Aquí se dan la mano ciertas suposiciones socio-históricas e intereses lingüísticos: Según las primeras, los dueños constituyeron, para restringir el desarrollo de una solidaridad étnica entre sus esclavos y así evitar actos de rebelión, dotaciones heterogéneas, comprando esclavos de grupos lingüísticos y culturales diferentes.[4] Esta asunción ayuda a los lingüistas a constituir, como base de sus hipótesis, al esclavo recién llegado como "a-lingüístico", en tanto despojado de toda capacidad de comunicarse y forzado, así, a "inventar" un nuevo lenguaje.[5]

Ya parece difícil traducir esta constelación de "laboratorio" en la realidad compleja de las colonias, laboratorio caracterizado, antes que nada, por un multilingüismo generalizado. Seguramente el aislamiento étnico de nuevos esclavos era una de las estrategias utilizadas por los dueños de

[3]Véase Antoine MEILLET, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, Paris 1965, p.85; BOLLÉE, op.cit., pp. 27–28.

[4]Citamos solamente un ejemplo de esta perspectiva muy corriente: "L'habitation (exploitation agricole dans le français des Iles) et, plus tard, la plantation constituent des véritables isolats économiques et humains qui favorisent le processus de déculturation/acculturation. La volonté systématique d'éviter la constitution de groupes serviles homogènes est évidente non seulement au niveau de la politique d'immigration de chaque colonie mais à celui-même de l'habitation" (Robert CHAUDENSON, "Présentation", número especial de *Langue Française* 37 (1978), p. 14).

[5]Véase: Marcel D'ANS, *Le créole français d'Haïti*, The Hague 1968. D'Ans habla de un "état provisoire d'alinguisme" de los nuevos esclavos (p. 21).

las plantaciones y quizás la administración la recomendó. Pero existen también razones para favorecer la constitución de dotaciones étnicamente homogéneas y por lo menos respecto a las colonias francesas encontramos pruebas que indican esta tendencia:

Primero, esta cuestión de la repartición étnica de los esclavos fue, como muchas otras, un tema de desacuerdo entre la administración colonial, preocupada por la seguridad general, y los dueños, más interesados en cuestiones de gestión y rentabilidad de la plantación. Ya la posibilidad de selección era muy limitada: en los puertos africanos como en los mercados de la colonia la oferta era siempre inferior a la demanda.[6] La competencia internacional obligó al negrero a tocar en pocos puertos de base donde, después de negociaciones complicadas y largos períodos de espera, compraba grupos de esclavos que, generalmente, procedían de una región bastante limitada.[7] Generalmente, el negrero vendía su carga en un puerto americano único, donde los dueños compraban los esclavos nuevos "que par petits groupes et autant que possible de même race",[8] lo que parecía provechoso por varias razones: como lo explica Moreau de Saint-Méry, generalmente los dueños tenían preferencias por ciertas etnías;[9] segundo, una dotación homogénea parecía más estable y contenta. La mezcla de etnías diferentes era considerada como "moins propice à l'apaisement rapide du Noir nouveau".[10]

Esto está vinculado a problemas importantes de la gestión de plantaciones: el miedo y la desorientación del nuevo esclavo que no estaba acostumbrado a la vida y al trabajo de ingenio. Se consideraban los cinco años posteriores a la llegada como un período muy difícil, durante el cual la mitad de los esclavos perecían por falta de adaptación física y psíquica (suicidio). Tomando en cuenta esto, los manuales corrientes aconsejaban asociar un esclavo nuevo a un anciano de la misma etnía, y en ese sentido la solidaridad que los miembros de las etnías manifestaban entre sí era

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[6]Véase Jacques CAUNA, *Au temps des isles à sucre,* Paris 1987, p. 106: "Mais la volonté de l'acheteur n'est pas seule à intervenir, ce sont surtout les arrivages qui décident".

[7]Sobre las condiciones generales véase sobre todo: François RENAULT / Serge DAGET, *Les traites négrières en Afrique,* Paris 1985. pp. 94 ss. (el libro contiene también un inventario crítico de otras fuentes).

[8]Gabriel DEBIEN, *Les esclaves aux Antilles Françaises (XVII-XVIII siècles),* Basse Terre/Fort-de-France 1974, p. 84.

[9]*Déscription [...] de la partie française de l'île de Saint Domingue,* Reimpresión de la edición de 1797, Paris 1958, vol. I, pp. 53ss.

[10]Yves DEBRASCH, "Le Marronage. Essai sur la désertion de l'esclave antillais", in *Année Sociologique* 3 (1962), p. 16.

considerada como cualidad.[11] Cuando, desde el siglo XVII, bajó muy rápidamente el número de los empleados blancos en las colonias inglesas y francesas, la organización del trabajo dependió casi enteramente de los esclavos, y de su capacidad de entenderse mutuamente. Este entendimiento no fue solamente lingüístico. En casi todas las plantaciones hubo subgrupos étnicos importantes, y a veces la correspondencia entre los gerentes y los dueños ausentes deja ver la aspiración de mantener homogéneamente toda la dotación de esclavos de una plantación.[12] Las listas de 2471 esclavos de 35 plantaciones en el sur de Saint-Domingue presentadas por Debien muestran también esta tendencia: 32.9% de ellos son criollos, 34% pertenecen a cuatro grandes etnías: Congo, Ibo, Nago, Arada. El resto, un tercio de la totalidad distribuida en 23 etnías presenta una fuerte concentración étnica: de los 18 Sossos, 16 viven en una sola plantación como todos los 9 Temenes. Pero lo mismo vale también para las etnías más importantes: 95 de los 119 Nagos se encuentran en dos plantaciones.[13]

Seguramente, el peligro de conspiraciones estaba siempresente, pero la producción de azúcar en las islas era, muy generalmente, considerada como un riesgo, y el dueño de la plantación buscaba las ventajas a corto plazo sin preocuparse demasiado de la seguridad general. Para evitar sorpresas, algunos dueños intentaron aprender lenguas africanas, como, por ejemplo, el famoso Padre Labat de la isla de Martinica, que estudió un poco de la lengua Arada, "parce que il m'était important de sçavoir ce qui se passait entre eux", como explica.[14] En esta plantación, seguramente, no había una "ruptura" en la historia lingüística de los esclavos.

Respecto de la comunicación entre los esclavos de plantaciones diferentes, la situación era más compleja. Seguramente existió un cierto aislamiento de las plantaciones, que, sin embargo, varió según el lugar y la época. Generalmente las contradicciones eran las mismas: la administración, preocupada por la seguridad, quiso restringir los contactos entre los esclavos de plantaciones diferentes, pero, como observa Debien, "les règlements ne sont pas la vie".[15] Fue casi imposible controlar los movimientos de millares de esclavos, sobre todo cuando los colonos mismos no cooperaban con la administración. Para ellos, fiestas nocturnas organiza-

[11] Los Ibos tenían la reputación "qu'ils étaient très attachés les uns aux autres, et que les nouveaux venus trouvaient des secours, des soins, et des exemples chez eux qui les avaient devancés" (MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY, op. cit., p. 51).

[12] DEBIEN (op. cit., p. 48) cita la carta de un dueño a su gerente desaprobando la compra de seis negros "Congo" para una tripulación enteramente "Arada".

[13] DEBIEN, op. cit. p. 56 y otros.

[14] R.P. LABAT, *Nouveau voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique [...]*, Fort-de-France 1972 (reproducción de la edición de 1742), vol. II, p. 394.

[15] DEBIEN, op. cit., p. 157.

das por dotaciones de ingenios diferentes eran una recompensa barata a la buena conducta, una recreación necesaria que, quizá, podía favorecer la reproducción de los esclavos. A veces, estas fiestas eran tan tumultuosas que creaban un escándalo,[16] pero generalmente eran toleradas en tanto que no apareció ninguna agitación política.

Además, siempre había ocasiones más o menos institucionalizadas para el contacto entre esclavos de ingenios diferentes. Era imposible el control de los mercados públicos necesarios para el abastecimiento de los esclavos; tampoco pudieron ser prohibidos de frecuentar las iglesias comunes, lo que los colonos consideraron como una base de actividad peligrosa. Existían también esclavos- artesanos que, buscando independientemente empleo con varios dueños, sirvieron también como mensajeros entre diferentes ingenios. Finalmente existieron también las sociedades de los cimarrones, quienes, por sus intermediarios, podían establecer contactos entre los esclavos de toda una región. Es evidente que para todos estos contactos entre gente desconocida, pero con papeles definidos, la cuestión del lenguaje era de suma importancia: ¿cuál era, debemos preguntarnos otra vez, el papel de las lenguas africanas y cuál el de las lenguas criollas emergentes?

Las naciones africanas como contra-sociedad y como organización sacral

Más que por las fiestas, los colonos estuvieron preocupados por otros eventos que encontramos mencionados con frecuencia en las relaciones y manuales de la época: p.e. la brujería o magia negra, consideradas como uno de los factores responsables de la alta mortalidad entre los esclavos; o por el cimarronaje, la fuga más o menos organizada; o por la violencia que apareció con las rebeliones dentro del ingenio o afuera, con la guerra continua contra los cimarrones.

Suponemos que estos tres fenómenos de resistencia están vinculados entre sí; se presentan como signos exteriores de la existencia de una contra-sociedad de los esclavos que, por su organización y por su estructuración, superaba la imaginación de los colonos. Para ellos, la jerarquía entre los esclavos dependía únicamente de su valor comercial; así aparecían como más altos los esclavos criollos, quienes, nacidos en la colonia, estaban más adaptados a la vida colonial; quienes hablaban lenguajes criollos y, a veces, hasta la lengua colonial; quienes disponían de aptitudes profesio-

[16] Véase G. DEBIEN, "Assemblées nocturnes d'esclaves à Saint-Domingue (Marmelade 1786)", in *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française* 207 (1972).

nales. Entre ellos se reclutaban los esclavos domésticos, los artesanos y los mayorales, es decir, todas las personas que vivían cerca de los dueños.

Los esclavos del campo, "bozales" africanos en su mayoría, aparecieron como una masa poco estructurada, viviendo fuera del ámbito del dueño que, normalmente, veía a sus servidores una vez al año, por Navidad. Su adaptación cultural y lingüística fue lenta y pasó por la mediación de los criollos. Dentro de esa masa — extremadamente desfavorecida y privada de toda oportunidad de mejorar su situación dentro de la jerarquía oficial — se establecieron otras estructuras sociales que se presentaban en forma de una jerarquía invertida. Descansó sobre la herencia africana que inspiró el terror mayor: los conocimientos de los venenos, de la magia negra, de los dioses africanos.

Así, los valores de la contra–sociedad se oponían a los de la rentabilidad comercial. El más poderoso fue el "bozal" recién llegado, quien, debido a sus conocimientos tradicionales, dominó a los esclavos ya más adaptados y parcialmente desculturados, sobre todo a los esclavos criollos y, en cierta medida, hasta a los blancos.

El concepto de la "nación africana" (Congo, Arada, Nago, Ibo) subsiste hasta hoy como designación relativamente vaga de comunidades religiosas, de ritos o de dioses africanos; pero sabemos que, durante la esclavitud, las "naciones", es decir, las etnías africanas, fueron grupos sociales con tareas más globales. En el centro de sus actividades encontramos la organización de cultos, de las "fiestas" y "bailes", pero ya Moreau de Saint–Méry, uno de los pocos blancos que asistió directamente a tales eventos, subraya que aquello sirvió también para la organización de la asistencia mutua y de la conspiración;[17] observó que la pena prevista para los traidores era la muerte. Obviamente, estas "naciones" — Moreau menciona explícitamente que observó un culto "arada" ¡donde se utilizó esta lengua! — dispusieron de medidas eficaces para garantizar la clandestinidad de su organización: la magia, el veneno, y los vínculos con los cimarrones, que también descansaron sobre la solidaridad tradicional traída del Africa.

Con plena seguridad, el cimarronaje es un fenómeno complejo. La mayoría de las fugas eran temporales, provocadas por el hambre o por el temor a los castigos; pero existió también la fuga de esclavos organizada por los cimarrones, quienes, perseguidos continuamente por las milicias coloniales, siempre necesitaban refuerzos. Restringidos a las zonas marginales de la colonia, los cimarrones no tuvieron muchas posibilidades de vivir una vida "normal"; dependieron, sobretodo en tiempos de crisis, de las plantaciones donde podían, con la ayuda de los esclavos, encontrar alimentación, refuerzos y, escondidos en sus barracones o bohíos, una se-

[17]MOREAU DE SAINT- MÉRY, op. cit., vol. I., pp. 66/67.

guridad precaria. Los esclavos aprovechaban igualmente de su relación con los cimarrones, que les ofrecían refugio y defensa contra la arbitrariedad de sus dueños. Los palenques eran, a partir del hecho mismo de su existencia, una válvula de escape necesaria para el equilibrio psíquico de los esclavos: constituyeron una puerta abierta hacia afuera, donde pasaban informaciones y mercancías; ofrecían una libertad de acción ciertamente limitada pero necesaria para impedir la destrucción total de la personalidad social y cultural del esclavo africano.

¿Cómo funcionaron las relaciones sociales entre esclavos y cimarrones? Podemos suponer que los grupos de cimarrones estaban organizados, al igual que las "naciones" dentro de la plantación, según las etnías y grupos lingüísticos africanos. Es difícil encontrar pruebas directas, ya que los colonos, casi los únicos cronistas de la época, no tenían acceso a estas organizaciones clandestinas y, por otro lado, rechazaban la posibilidad de conceder a los negros la facultad de organizarse como humanos, lo que disminuyó considerablemente la eficacia de sus medidas de opresión.

Podemos, sin embargo, intentar un esbozo de esta organización social a partir de las circunstancias de vida de los fugitivos. Según los documentos, existieron varias modalidades de fuga;[18] la primera, evento muy corriente en las colonias, que tocó a los esclavos nuevos y también a los criollos, era la fuga espontánea provocada por un castigo inminente, el hambre o la desesperación. Esos esclavos casi nunca conseguían alejarse mucho de la plantación, fuera porque, en el caso de los nuevos, estaban atemorizados y desorientados por la vida colonial, o fuera porque, en el caso de los criollos, habían perdido la capacidad de sobrevivir en la selva.[19] Además — y eso es lo que es importante para nosotros — carecían del apoyo y de la ayuda de las "naciones" dentro y fuera de las plantaciones, porque estas organizaciones, muy vulnerables por tradición, no aceptaban cualquier fugitivo.

El cimarrón "ideal" era el negro bozal con algunos años de experiencia en la plantación; como miembro de una de las organizaciones bozales había preparado su fuga de antemano, de manera que, una vez vencidos los límites del ingenio, pasaba de su nación del interior a su nación de afuera. Lo importante es que este tipo de cimarrón era bicultural y bilingüe, un requisito imprescindible propio de la ambigüedad misma del cimarronaje, que imponía, según las circunstancias, una vida "en criollo" o una vida "africana".

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[18]cf. DEBIEN, *Esclaves aux Antilles*, op. cit., p. 412, p. 424: Los franceses establecían una diferencia entre el "grand marronage", "sans esprit de retour" y el "petit marronage", "de petit rayon et de courte durée". Un tercer tipo, "le marronage prolongé" es menos diferente: es la fuga de un individuo aislado en búsqueda de un palenque.

[19]cf. DEBIEN, op. cit., p. 449ss.

Yvan Debrasch, en sus excelentes estudios sobre el cimarronaje en las colonias francesas, concluyó que la organización política y social de los cimarrones fue "federativa".[20] La falta de espacio en las colonias insulares,[21] las dificultades para conseguir alimentos, la persecución por parte de los ranchadores y las milicias forzó a los cimarrones a repartirse en grupos numéricamente restringidos y muy autónomos, quienes, como lo atestiguan algunos documentos de la época,[22] se constituyeron según las solidaridades étnicas tradicionales. Estos grupos étnicos, sin embargo, estaban dispuestos a reunirse con otros dentro y fuera de la plantación para cumplir tareas más grandes: tender una celada a las milicias, atacar un ingenio o una rebelión o guerra prolongada. En estos casos el personaje más importante era un jefe, que, por sus capacidades, su carisma o su éxito, podía vencer los límites étnicos y que, cuando las circunstancias lo permitían, conseguía a veces reunir más permantemente diversas naciones en un palenque o una "ciudad" más estable.

Así, encontramos dos tipos de sociedades: una, africana, que descansaba sobre la cultura tradicional, sobre relaciones personales y el poder legitimado por los dioses africanos de la nación; la otra, anónima y "criolla", que carecía de esta solidaridad tradicional pero correspondía más a las exigencias de la vida colonial. Se puede suponer que la combinación de ambos permitió establecer una red de vías de comunicación vinculando la mayoría de los esclavos. A veces las grandes rebeliones eran organizadas por una sola nación que luego era seguida por las demás;[23] otras, al contrario, ya estaban organizadas en un nivel más amplio, es decir, "criollo".[24] La importancia y el poder de los cimarrones disminuyeron por algunos eventos que ocurrieron a fines del siglo XVIII e inicios del siglo XIX:

- los colonos buscaron tratados de paz con los diferentes palenques, garantizando así su existencia. Como contrapartida, los cimarro-

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[20] Op. cit., pp. 91ss.

[21] La organización de los cimarrones en el continente (p.e. en Surinam) fue muy diferente: Lejos de los centros coloniales, pudieron reconstituir una vida "tribal" que tuvo como resultado una amalgama de elementos culturales africanos, indígenas y criollos sin la necesidad de mantener el pluriculturalismo de los insulares. Así, sus lenguas criollas fueron más nativizados e independientes que las de los insulares.

[22] "Ces nègres, dit un mémoire de la fin du XVIIIe siècle, sont partagés en bandes différentes, composées de differentes nations d'Afrique qui paraissent avoir une espèce de gouvernement différent" (DEBRASCH, op. cit., p. 90/91).

[23] cf. Orlando PATTERSON, *The Sociology of Slavery,* London 1967, p. 267ss.

[24] El ejemplo más conocido es la revolución de Saint-Domingue, que empezó con una ceremonia de Vodu organizada por el sacerdote Bouckman. Pero parece que, desde su inicio, fue una rebelión organizada en un nivel "criollo" sin un rol particular por parte de una determinada "nación".

nes fueron obligados a entregar todos los fugitivos a las autoridades coloniales. Estas dos cláusulas destruyeron la simbiosis entre cimarrones y esclavos; así la "nación" africana perdió su espacio social y su función;[25]

- la abolición del comercio de esclavos privó a las naciones africanas de refuerzos y aumentó paulatinamente la proporción de esclavos criollos;
- finalmente, la abolición de la esclavitud creó una nueva movilidad, lo que disminuyó la importancia de la antigua nación como espacio vital, la cual se quedó solamente con su función primera, que fue la de una organización sacral.

Esta disminución de las funciones de la antigua nación disminuyó igualmente la importancia de las lenguas africanas, que se volvieron poco a poco lenguas sacrales y, por ende, casi secretas. Vestigios subsisten hasta hoy, pero muchas veces son ininteligibles. Pero se ha atestiguado la existencia de algunos residuos en Haití ("Fon", llamado langage), en Jamaica, Granada y San Andrés ("Twi"), en Surinam ("Cromanti"), en Brasil, Cuba y Trinidad ("Nago"). Sólo pocas veces se señalan a comunidades muy aisladas donde subsistan las antiguas naciones con funciones más amplias que, todavía, sirvan como testimonio de la importancia anterior de estas organizaciones clandestinas.[26]

La génesis de las lenguas criollas y su relación con las lenguas africanas

A pesar de su plausibilidad, la hipótesis de una coexistencia entre las lenguas coloniales predominantes, las lenguas criollas y las lenguas africanas contradice las teorías sociolingüísticas como, p.e. la de la *disglosia.* Este modelo prevé solamente dos variantes sociales, una de las cuales es considerada como "alta", y que habría sido la lengua colonial predominante. Pero entonces ¿cómo se explica la existencia de dos niveles de códigos bajos? Si contemplamos la realidad lingüística de las nuevas naciones, encontramos muchas veces una situación que puede llamarse "triglosia": Las lenguas oficiales de origen colonial no estaban muy difundidas por la falta de una enseñanza adecuada; pero tampoco las lenguas tradicionales, porque el contexto de la nación con sus corolarios de la urbanización

[25]Es significativo que los esclavos generalmente se opusieran a estos tratados de paz (cf. PATTERSON, op. cit., p. 271).

[26]Un ejemplo de estas es la comunidad de Gasparillo en Trinidad, descrita por J.D. ELDER, *The Yoruba Ancestor Cult in Gasparillo,* St. Augustine: ISER 1969.

y la movilidad creó nuevas necesidades de comunicación que favorecían lenguas llamadas vehiculares o intermediarias, como las lenguas Pidgin u otras variantes lingüísticas que parecen imperfectas pero ya son bastante estables.[27] Se puede anticipar la desaparición de una de estas variantes,[28] pero en tanto que duren las condiciones políticas, sociales y culturales de estos países, esta triglosia parece bastante institucionalizada.

Suponemos que las colonias caribeñas presentaron rasgos similares de una transición lingüística congelada por razones históricas que, al final, se resolvió por la eliminación de las lenguas africanas. Las razones de ésta ya fueron mencionadas al final del capítulo pasado: una disminución de las distancias sociales permitió una homogeneización relativa y desfuncionalizó el nivel de las lenguas africanas. Pero vale la pena esbozar el proceso social completo que condujo a la formación de esta triglosia.

En su inicio, las colonias caribeñas presentaban una situación de multilingüismo en la que tuvieron más importancia las distancias geográficas entre las diferentes comunidades que las distancias sociales entre las clases. Nos referimos aquí a un período que, en las teorías de "ruptura" y de la criollización apenas aparece, a pesar de su importancia para la historia caribeña: al desarrollo del ingenio y de la esclavitud precedió una fase de experimentación con varios productos coloniales como la madera, el algodón, el café, el indigo, los cueros, etc. El mayor éxito lo obtuvo la producción de tabacos que, como los otros productos, favoreció la continuidad de técnicas campesinas de Europa: Contrariamente al azúcar, el tabaco no requiere grandes inversiones ni latifundios; lo que importa es la dedicación y la destreza artesanal del cultivador que, dentro de la pequeña empresa familiar, domina las diferentes fases de la elaboración de su producto sin una división muy marcada del trabajo.[29]

Esta producción descansó sobre el traslado de campesinos europeos, quienes, en las colonias francesas e inglesas, llegaron a las islas con un contrato obligándolos a tres años de trabajo sin remuneración para pagar

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[27]Estas variantes escapan muchas veces a la terminología de la criollística, que preve solamente la distinción entre una lengua criolla (una lengua materna ya extendida en sus campos de uso) y las lenguas Pidgin (una lengua auxiliar y reducida). Para la consideración de los Pidgin extendidos que se presentan p.e. en Nueva Guinea, fue creado el término de "expanded pidgin" (cf. Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, "Structural Expansion and the Process of Creolization", in Valdman/Highfield (eds.), *Theoretical Orientations in Creole Studies*, New York 1980, pp. 15– 55).

[28]Desaparecerán las lenguas étnicas con una destribalización progresiva; o desaparecerá la lengua intermediaria con una escolarización forzada; o desaparecerá la lengua colonial con una política nacionalista.

[29]Véase el estudio de Fernando ORTIZ, *Contrapunto cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*, La Habana 1983 ([1]1940), que da una imagen de la sociedad cubana a partir de estos dos productos.

el pasaje y el lote de terreno que recibieron después. Al principio fueron los dueños ya establecidos quienes, de esta manera, fueron seguidos por sus parientes, amigos y vecinos y así reconstituyeron las comunidades étnicas y lingüísticas de su propia región.[30] Estas condiciones favorables fueron cambiando paulatinamente al final del siglo XVII, cuando el reclutamiento de los contratados fue realizado por los capitanes o los agentes, que embarcaban gente desconocida, campesinos sin tierra y otras personas itinerantes, para "venderlos" después de la llegada; esta "comercialización" de la inmigración coincidió con la expansión de la economía azucarera, requiriendo de masas de trabajadores para un trabajo considerado sencillo pero muy duro.

Según Eric Williams, las formas particulares de la esclavitud en las colonias "capitalistas" se desarrollaron con el deterioro del tratamiento de los contratados.[31] Es importante que también otras investigaciones[32] muestran que los esclavos africanos, todavía raros en esta época, vivían junto con los siervos blancos y bajo las mismas condiciones. Ambos carecían de derechos personales, podían ser vendidos o prestados a otros dueños, sufrían los mismos castigos, huían juntos y muchas veces cohabitaban en forma de concubinato o casamiento.

Así, hubo poca distancia social entre los africanos y los europeos de origen humilde, y esto explica una forma particular de multilingüismo. Se sabe que entonces, p.e., pocos campesinos dominaban solamente su "patois" regional o local. Como los esclavos africanos debían usar varias jergas más o menos espontáneas para comunicarse con otras comunidades de la misma colonia y con otra gente marginal: con los últimos grupos de los indios Caribe, con los bucaneros y filibusteros, con los soldados sin sueldo, marineros y aventureros. Ya hemos mencionado algunas de estas jergas: el "sabir" mediterráneo[33] que, probablemente, era también la lengua vehicular de los filibusteros,[34] o la "lengua de reconocimiento" uti-

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[30]Véase Gabriel DEBIEN, *Les Engagés pour les Antilles,* Paris (Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises) 1952. Debien confirma a partir de sus documentos que en las colonias francesas predominaron los inmigrantes de las zonas del norte de Francia.

[31]Véase Eric WILLIAMS, *Capitalism and Slavery,* London 1964; "The Origin of Negro Slavery" in HOROWITZ, op. cit., pp. 47–74.

[32]cf. DEBIEN, *Les Engagés [...],* op. cit., pp. 199 ss.; véase también WILLIAMS, op. cit. 1971, p. 59; PATTERSON, op. cit., p. 49.

[33]Véase Hugo SCHUCHHARDT, "Die Lingua Franca", in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 13 (1909), pp. 441–461; Christian FOLTYS: "Die Belege der Lingua Franca", in *Neue Romania* 1 (1984), pp. 1–37.

[34]Véase Jules FAINE, *Philologie Créole,* Port-au-Prince (Imprimerie de l'État) ^{2}1937, pp. 7 ss.

lizada por los marineros portugueses,[35] la jerga de los indios del Caribe;[36] pero existían seguramente también formas de comunicación basadas en los idiomas regionales europeos[37] y africanos.[38] Ya las denominaciones "tribales" como "Arada" o "Congo" se aplicaban en las colonias a etnías y lenguas vehiculares mal definidas de regiones bastante amplias. Solamente la ingenuidad de los colonos, ignorantes de la compleja situación lingüística en Africa, permitió establecer clasificaciones: todo africano nuevo que podía entenderse con los "Nagos" ya presentes era considerado como "Nago".

El multilingüismo de esta época fue tal que es imposible describirlo con precisión.[39] Ninguna de las hablas que los monogenetistas consideran como raíz de los idiomas criollos actuales puede ser excluído de la escena, pero tampoco ninguno sirvió como "proto-criollo". En vez de especulaciones difíciles de comprobar nos parecen más útiles consideraciones en cuanto al cambio estructural de la situación lingüística: ¿cómo se convirtió el multilingüismo desordenado e inestable en una estratificación de diferentes niveles lingüísticos, lo que permitió a las lenguas criollas estabilizarse y, finalmente, eliminar las lenguas africanas?

La expansión del ingenio de tipo "capitalista" durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVII cambió radicalmente la estructura de las sociedades afectadas. Apareció una nueva capa de dueños, extranjeros a la colonia, pero con una capacidad de inversión que les permitió comprar casi todas las tierras de los campesinos pequeños. El pacto mercantilista contribuyó a hacer desaparecer a las capas medias, los artesanos, los comerciantes y hasta a los especialistas indispensables para el funcionamiento de los ingenios.[40] El "comercio de los contratados" se detuvo por completo alrededor de 1725, todos los servicios del ingenio — el de capataz, de los artesanos, hasta el de médico — pasaron a ser cumplidos por esclavos

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[35]Véase Anthony J. NARO, "A Study on the Origin of Pidginization", in *Language* 24 (1978), pp. 314–347.

[36]Véase Morris GOODMAN, *A Comparative Study of French Creole Dialects*, The Hague 1964 (Apéndice).

[37]Véase R. CHAUDENSON, "Pour une étude comparée des créoles et parlers français d'outre-mer", in *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 37 (1973), p. 345; Henry E. FUNK, *The French Creole Dialect of Martinique*, Diss. Univ. of Virginia 1953, p. 12.

[38]Lenguas vehiculares, "mezcladas" entre varios idiomas africanos fueron utilizadas ya en los estados multi-étnicos del "Niger Delta" que surgieron con el comercio de esclavos.

[39]Véase Gabriel MANESSY, "Créolisation et Créolité", in *Études Créoles* 10(1987),2, pp. 26 ss.

[40]La economía colonial estuvo caracterizada por la ausencia de dinero, porque todas las transacciones financieras tuvieron lugar en la metrópoli. Esta situación impidió el desarrollo de los servicios.

especializados.[41] Así, se estableció una estructura de dos clases sociales extremadamente polarizadas: la minoría, de los dueños ricos y poderosos, y la mayoría, de los esclavos exentos de todas las medidas para determinar su propia vida. Esta segregación, ya reforzada por el criterio del color de la piel, fue tan rígida que las capas intermediarias — ya muy disminuidas por falta de posiciones — no pudieron mantener más su papel particular, sino incorporarse a las dos clases predominantes.[42]

La importancia ubicua del papel social relegó el factor de la heterogeneidad étnica — aún grande entre los esclavos — a un segundo plano; visto desde el exterior ellos parecían una masa poco diferenciada. Asimismo, el multilingüismo difuso del primer tiempo se transformó en una jerarquía de sociolectos con campos de uso estrictamente limitados.

Para entender el proceso de criollización, hay que ver que la adaptación lingüística del esclavo nuevo tuvo lugar esencialmente dentro de la comunidad de los esclavos y no entre los dueños y los esclavos, siendo los contactos entre estos escasos y muy irregulares, limitados a un grupo pequeño de criollos. Las lenguas criollas, muy probablemente una fusión de varias jergas populares del primer período, se consolidaron y homogeneizaron dentro de las comunidades serviles, una vez que su función social se había determinado. Así, el esclavo bozal no redujo la lengua de su dueño — como lo quiere la teoría llamada "Baby Talk" — sino que adquirió un instrumento comunicativo ya en uso dentro de la colonia. A pesar de su estabilización por el uso cotidiano entre los esclavos criollos, la nueva lengua conservó — hasta hoy — ciertas calidades de lenguas vehiculares, como una gran regularidad, una gramática sencilla y la ausencia de normas muy restrictivas; estos rasgos permitieron el aprendizaje rápido

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[41] Véase la relación numérica entre esclavos y europeos para algunas colonias (computado según indicaciones en: Richard SHERIDAN, *The Development of the Plantations to 1750,* Barbados 1970, p. 29, 35, 41, 49):

	1670–80	1700–10	1730–40	1750–60
Barbados	1,6	3,6	4,0	3,8
Martinique	2,0	2,8	4,0	5,6 (1770)
Jamaica	1,1	6,4	9,8	10,8
Saint-Domingue	0,5	?	10,5	12,1

Estos cambios preocuparon bastante a las administraciones coloniales, que necesitaron milicias para mantener la seguridad. Varias ordenanzas — p.e. la de los reyes franceses, destinada a arreglar la relación numérica entre empleados libres y esclavos (1707 1:10; 1718 1:20) — no tuvieron éxito porque los dueños prefirieron pagar una multa en vez de pagar un sueldo a un empleado.

[42] Personas de color siempre fueron consideradas como esclavos si no podían comprobar lo contrario por presentación de un documento.

y la posibilidad de una reducción voluntaria de su complejidad para la comunicación con extranjeros — tanto blancos como negros.

Este carácter vehicular de las lenguas criollas indica que no fueron las únicas lenguas habladas dentro de la sociedad de los esclavos. Como ya hemos demostrado, los bozales, hasta el final del siglo XVIII la mayoría de los esclavos y casi todos los trabajadores del campo con pocos contactos con la sociedad criolla, continuaron el uso de una lengua africana — la suya propia o la de su nación de adopción — para la mayor parte de sus contactos cotidianos. Pero ya debían participar en la nueva sociedad criolla que se formó, bajo la presión de la esclavitud, por los hijos de los africanos, ya más adaptados a las condiciones particulares de la colonia y muchas veces tenedores de calificación profesional. Esta adaptación ofreció a veces ventajas considerables, pero significó también la pérdida gradual de la "africanidad" y, al final, el rechazo de las naciones desconfiadas.[43] Esta competencia entre las naciones y la sociedad criolla se decidió, con el andar de los siglos, en favor de la última, porque la adaptación, finalmente, ofreció más ventajas sociales y materiales, esenciales en un ambiente caracterizado por la escasez.

[43]Se han señalado algunos cultos "criollos" como el de "Don Pedro", mencionado por Moreau de Saint-Méry, lo que deja suponer que los criollos intentaron crear sus propias sociedades ocultas.

AFRICAN STATES IN THE NEW WORLD ? REMARKS ON THE TRADITION OF TRANSATLANTIC RESISTANCE

Stephan Palmié (Munich)

It is a typical and widespread historical misconception to attribute monocausal significance for the emergence of the so–called "Third World" to the effects upon non–European peoples of the political, demographic and cultural stimuli emanating from Europe since the 15th century. This view of global history, common as it is among liberal historians as well as social scientists, essentially defines the "Third World" as a function of European intervention into the affairs of indigenous societies. Although we certainly would no longer go so far as to deny the "pre–Colombian" historicity of such societies *in toto,* we nevertheless tend to consider their historical role in the events following their "discovery" as passive or, at best, reactive.

In this regard, our conceptions are characteristically linked to concrete images: Ever since Las Casas' reports about the devastation of the Indies, stereotypes of the overpowering onslaught of a higher civilization upon helpless natives have shaped our views of a historical constellation between European perpetrators and "primitive" victims overseas. With the words of Karl Marx we understand the "discovery of gold and silver lands in the Americas; the extermination, enslavement and burying of the native populations in the mines; [...] the conquest and plundering of the East Indies; the transformation of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of black skins" (Marx/Engels 1972, xxiii:779), as well as the resulting colonial subjugation, as the decisive factors in the development of the non–European world.

Even if today, this view no longer serves as a rationalization of imperialistic claims to superiority, but rather arouses feelings of guilt,[1] the fact remains that we continue to define the indigenous societies of Africa,

[1]The rather complex aggregate of images and beliefs associated with the historical role of "The West" vis a vis "the others" in the mind of liberal intellectuals is well analyzed in Hoetink's critique of Toynbee. Rather caustically, the Dutch sociologist refers to the respective views and attitudes current among his colleagues in the early 60's as a "counterpanrt of colonial derangement" manifesting itself, among other things, in the "Western *Zeitgeist* of downfall and the emotions linked with it, of guilt and penance, of sin and punishment" (HOETINK 1967:76).

Asia and the New World as objects of European history-making. At least up to the point of anticolonial movements, the role of these peoples as historical subjects is commonly perceived as incidental.

The German ethnologist Wilhelm Mühlmann, for example, seriously speaks of "native peoples" as evidencing historical "variability", but not "history" in the sense of larger, consciously initiated changes concurring with "changes in the state of mind",*unless,* according to Mühlmann, having experienced, either directly or indirectly, an impetus for change from an "advanced civilization" (Mühlmann 1962:280ff.). An excerpt from Mühlmann's casuistry may illustrate this thesis:

> No examination of culture traits will bear out the conclusion that "European influence" affected, for example, the Zulu expansion under Shaka. We do know, however, that Dingiswayo, Shaka's predecessor, was inspired by the imperialistic *model* of English rule in Capetown, and the troups stationed there. This was the stimulus for the Zulu, injecting them with ideas of military organization and "political magnitude" (ibid.: 282 seq., my emphasis).

In other words, even the mere *idea* of being historically active was borrowed from the Europeans.

Regarding the Caribbean, a similar though more complex case of such reasoning can be discerned in Roger Bastide's attempt to explain the apparent lack of chiliastic movements in Afro-American societies; starting out from Max Weber's concept of a "theodicy of the negatively privileged", as manifested in expectations of eschatological retribution, Bastide poses the question why New World blacks, who, after all, represent a typical Paria group, did not participate in messianic/millenaristic movements before the end of slavery and, apart from a few recent exceptions (e.g. Black Islam, Rastafari), produced hardly any movements of this kind worth mentioning.

According to Bastide, this is especially remarkable in the case of Brazil, a classical region of New World millenarisms, where at most a small number of creole slaves participated in otherwise multiethnic movements of chiliastic nature.

Bastide's explanation for the lack of social dynamics of this type among Afro-Brazilians largely rests on the assumption of an absence of eschatological ideas in African religions, the concept of final redemption allegedly being foreign to the circular understanding of time in the traditional belief systems of Africans. Therefore, Bastide argues, an important ideological stimulus for resistance to the white oppressors which can be observed in many colonial situations, either never came to fruition among Afro-Brazilians, or else only developed after traditional "collective representations" were rejected. This, he adds, differs from the case

of the Tupí–Guaraní, whose mythology includes pronounced apocalyptic elements, and from that of the Christianity–influenced caboclos and the highly acculturated creole blacks (cf. Bastide 1978:357f., 361f. and Bastide 1961 passim).

In a passage all too reminiscent of Lévy–Bruhl's theories of a "primitive mentality", Bastide thus succeeds in both romanticising what he takes to be "the African world view" *and* declaring it an ideological barrier to the development of historical conciousness:[2]

> In the African religions man is in harmony with nature; the rythm of his social life is attuned to that of cosmic life [...]. These are not religions of hope or social protest. They seem unable to furnish the mythic frameworks necessary for prophetic proclamations of civilizing heroes who will reappear in an apocalypse [...]. Before a messianism offering the blacks revenge upon the whites [...] can emerge, two conditions are necessary. First, Christianity must have broken with the African religions by preaching the damnation of the sinner and his salvation through rebirth and the dogma of the Cross– tenets that, in killing the old Adam, kill the old native civilization, too. Second, to replace what has been destroyed and to fill the gap, Protestantism must have introduced the sense of history, the sense of serial time, the Old Testament of the prophecies of the messiah and the apocalypse in which Christ the Redeemer will return to restore justice (Bastide 1978:361).

Bastide's thesis (contradictory as it seems to be, even within the context of his own work) can, of course, be refuted by reference to African examples such as the early 18th century "Antonian (Kimpa Vita) Movement" in the lower Congo (cf. Axelson 1970).[3] Within the context of our discussion, however, the significance of this theory lies in that fact that, for Bastide, an "African world view" – whatever that is – apparently offers sufficient grounds for denying the slaves the kind of conciousness we would consider a prerequisite for history–making.

He concedes that they rebelled out of sheer desperation – but not in order to purposely bring about wide – reaching change; not political motives, but "tribal regression" and escapist longings for an Africa forever

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[2]Cf. HORTON 1970 for a cogent discussion of the ideological background to Bastide's understanding of African culture.

[3]See algo JANZEN 1977 on what he calls "the tradition of renewal in Kongo religion"; BOHANNON 1958 on "extra–processual events" in precolonial Tiv society; and DE BEET / THODEN VAN VELZEN 1977, THODEN VAN VELZEN 1978 and THODEN VAN VELZEN / VAN WETERING 1983 for an Afro–american example clearly contradicting Bastide's smug hypothesis.

lost, propelled their collective action in marronage (op. cit.: 93).[4] What else but aimless, spontaneous outbursts could such blacks, untainted as it were by the "influence of advanced civilizations", have set against their white oppressors?

I would suggest: the very means of their traditional cultures, which – as I will try to indicate in the following – were in principle entirely appropriate for "history-making". I shall once more begin with an example: More than 20 years ago, the africanist R.K. Kent, in his widely noted study, *Palmares: an African State in Brazil,* reached the following conclusion about the historical significance of this enclave of runaway slaves in the Pernambuco backcountry comprising at its height an approximate number of 15–20,000 inhabitants: Palmares, Kent argued, offers sufficient grounds for the hypothesis that

> an African political system could be transferred to a different continent; that it could come to govern not only individuals from a variety of ethnic groups in Africa but also those born in Brazil, pitch black or almost white, latinized, or close to Amerindian roots; and that it could endure for almost a full century [i.e. from approx. 1602 to 1695] against two Europen powers, Holland and Portugal (Kent 1965:175).

Moreover, according to Kent, the demographic and territorial expansion of this monarchically structured multi-ethnic state at times seriously threatened European predominance in Brazil. If the Paulistan *Bandeirantes,* who were called for assitance, had not finally succeeded in destroying Palmares, "the Portuguese [according to Kent] might well have found themselves hugging the littoral and facing not one, but a number of independent African states dominating the backlands of 18th century Brazil" (Kent 1965:174).

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[4]From a Marxist perspective, the historian Eugene Genovese comes to a basically similar conclusion: Following Hobsbawm's analysis of European peasant revolts, he sees the motivations of early Afro- American slave revolts and maroon communities as "reactionary" in nature. Because the "early maroon vision" (as he calls it) solely focussed on the reconstruction of traditional African structures, it prevented the blacks from confronting the emerging bourgeois-capitalist world and led, therefore, to their withdrawal from the "mainstream of history". Black resistance did not become *historical* (i.e. aimed at progressive changes in society as a whole) in character until the adoption of bourgeois-democratic ideology in the course of the Haitian revolution. Thus Genovese, too, declares historicity to be a monopoly of European or European-influenced cultures. The idea that transplanted Africans might merely have thought in different culturally patterned historical categories – as Richard Price documented so well in his excellent *First Time* – apparently cannot be reconciled with Genovese's understanding of history (cf. GENOVESE 1979:182–125).

In this regard, the 17th century indeed suggests a number of "what–if" questions: For almost simultaneously with the emergence of Palmares, whose organization was patterned after the Bantu–states of western Central Africa, Afro–American state–like formations arose in several regions of the Spanish Main; the first decade of the century thus saw the emergence of the *palenque* San Lorenzo de los Negros under the rule of the Bron(g) descendant Yanga in the vicinity of Veracruz (Davidson 1966), and the *palenque* San Basilio near Cartagena de las Indias, ruled by the Bioho Domingo, also known as "King Benkos" (Escalante 1973).

All three cases, as well as the group organized around "King Bayano" in 16th century Panama, represented political units whose leaders, according to the sources, had already held royal offices in their homelands. Some of them not only succeeded in reasserting their leadership qualities in the New World, but also invested their positions with the kind of sacral dignity, known from contemporary reports on Africa potentates.

Yanga, for example, forbid the killing of Spanish prisoners who had seen his royal face (Davidson 1966). Ganga Zumba, the elected ruler of Palmares, whose name alone denotes priestly functions,[5] divided his kingdom into several "mocambos"[6] (political–military subdivisions) for which he chose individual commanders, thereby not only achieving a form of administration suited to the requirements of a state at war, but also succesfully reproducing the structure of contemporary Bantu– kingdoms.[7]

Palmares had a royal council responsible for policy decisions, a police–like control and sanctioning apparatus noted with amazement in contemporary reports, an institutionalized priest–hood, and an efficient economic system characterized by a considerable degree of division of labor (cf. Carneiro 1947, Ennes 1948, Diggs 1953, Kent 1965 and Lara 1977). Moreover, Ganga Zumba seems to have consciously pursued a strategy aimed at entrenching and expanding his power. He appointed his rela-

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[5]In Kikongo and other Bantu languages, "nganga" denotes the office of a religious specialist and healer (cf. BENTLEY 1967; LAMAN 1962). In this regard, MILLER (1976:254) gives a hint well worth further investigation: According to 17th century Italian sources, *nganga a nzumbi* was the Imbangala term for priests of a specific category of ancestral spirits. See also GONZALEZ HUGUET / BAUDRY 1967, and CABRERA 1954, regarding the transfer of the nganga–complex to Cuba.

[6]According to KENT (1965:164), this term, which in colonial Brazil came to designate runaway slave communities in general, derives from the Ambundu word "mukambo" which he translates as "hide–out".

[7]Similarly, the so–called "old Kongo kingdom" consisted of six province–like administrative districts, the local rulers of which paid tribute to an were subjects of the *mani kongo,* who resided in the capital city of *mbanza kongo* (Sao Salvador). Here, too, the *mani kongo,* as head of the state, appointed these provincial regents (cf., for example, the description in VANSINA 1965).

tives to important governmental positions and, as early as the mid–17th century, the consolidation of a royal lineage was clearly evident (Kent 1965: passim).

Benkos, too, seemed to have been on the verge of securing the privileges of a royal lineage for his family, reunited in *cimarronage,* when his daughter, Princess Orika, ironically enough, betrayed him to her former owner and lover, Francisco de Campos, who had accidentally been captured by Benkos' troops but later released (Esclanate 1973:78).

There is no doubt that in all of these cases former slaves succeeded in transferring African models of political organization to the New World, obviously underpinning them with traditional ideas about power and legitimacy. These were not the disorganized hide–outs of frightened "primitives", incapable of a calculated action of historical moment. On the contrary, as Kent points out (1965:175), these cases offer abundant proof for the amazing "vitality of the traditional African art in governing men".

These examples, however, provide food for thought in yet another respect – similar to Jamaica's Windward and Leeward Maroons emerging after 1655 (Patterson 1970, Kopytoff 1978); the group around Francisque Faboulé on Martinique, estimated as consisting of 400–500 members in 1665 (Debien 1973:108); and the core groups of the later Bush Negro tribes in Surinam which consolidated around 1670, Palmares, San Lorenzo and San Basilio achieved a level of military strength which – if only temporarily – granted them the significance of politically decisive powers within their respective regional contexts. In other words, they not only managed to defend their autonomy; whether through actual raids or by virtue of their mere presence, they also threatened the existence – or at least the further expansion – of the slave–holding societies of the European colonists.

In this respect, knowledge of subsequent historical developments often blinds us to the facts of the early stages of colonization: Aside from maybe Nueva España, the 17th century European colonial societies in the Americas represented rather precarious formations whose structural weakness and lack of integration rendered them highly susceptible to destabilization by both international wars and internal conflict. Especially in the Spanish Caribbean, the centrally organized "estado poblador" was hardly more than a legal figment of metropolitan imagination corresponding to a reality of frontier societies ridden with insubordination and centrifugal tendencies.

Concerning Cuba, for example, the early colonial documents examined by Wright (1970) confirm that the proverbial principle of "obedezco pero no cumplo" gave rise to a Hobbesian "dog–eat–dog" world in regions which, like Cuba, descended in importance to a peripheral position

within the Spanish Empire.[8] Even on Española, which remained fairly productive even after 1600, the decline of state control had, by that time, become an endemic syndrome. While there the extermination of the native American population had momentarily created a power vacuum beyond the Spanish frontier, similar border situations emerged in the confrontation with rapidly developing multi–ethnic pirate communities, characterized by Steger (1973:186f.) as an "anarchist counter–state", as well as against the large number of slaves which had taken to the woods and rebanded into powerful maroon communities.[9]

In addition, the colony had literally been sitting on a powder keg. While the plantation system had brought temporary prosperity to the Spaniards on Española, its enormous need for black labor had created an increasingly risky political situation. According to the Italian traveller Benzoni (1969:65), it was rumored as early as the middle of the 16th century that the island would soon fall into the hands of the blacks, and around 1570, 5000–6000 Spaniards faced an army of over 7000 *cimarrones* and more than 20,000 slaves being arduously held in check (Andrews 1978:15, Bonetti 1984:146ff.).

We do not know how the *cimarrones* of the Sierra de Baoruco on the western border of the Spanish–controlled area were organized, but it is certain that their attacks, some of which were supported by pirates, seriously threatened the colony several times and effectively prevented the tramontane settlement ot the island.[10]

Here, as in the case of Brazil, a comparison with the early Portuguese attempts to colonize Angola seems to suggest itself: for there, too, com-

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[8]Probably the most vivid account of the caothic nature of Ibero–Cuban society during the first two centuries of settlement is given by ORTIZ 1975.

[9]This situation was agravated by the international conflict: Just as the "pirate state" on La Tortuga formed a bridgehead for the French invasion, the maroon groups exploited the European conflict by using deliberate partisanship to weaken their greatest enemies. By the late 16th century, if we can believe the authors of *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (1628), Panama, for example, was honey–combed with a tightly organized network of mobile maroon groups whose cooperation and excellent military–ecological adaptation to the tropical terrain might have greatly contributed to Drake's success (cf. WRIGHT 1932:253–331).

[10]In the case of Española/Saint Domingue there seems to be some justification for interpreting these early large–scale *palenques* as the first signifiant expression of a tradition of resistance, persisting unaffected by the European change of power, in order to culminate eventually in the cataclysm of the Haitian Revolution. In my opinion, Leslie F. Manigat poses a very convincing argument as to how marronage on Saint Domingue as a "cumulative", and – within the slave society – "total" phenomenon, became part of a broad stream of historical events in the second half of the 18th century, and finally merged with the revolution in the 1790's under the leadership of Boukman and Romaine la Prophetesse (cf. MANIGAT 1977).

plex frontier situations evolved which, at times, came close to thwarting the Portuguese colonial effort. Newly founded African war states such as Matamba, under the famous Queen Nzinga, and the Imbangala–Mbundu state Kasanje succeeded in cutting off all inland access to the Europeans, weakened as they were by lack of discipline and internal dissension.

This analogy seems all the more compelling since, although these recent state–formations represented a direct reaction to Portuguese intervention, they nevertheless clearly fell within the continuum of a precolonial tradition of political organization centering on the consolidation of migrant groups, refugees and war parties into heterogeneous states of expansive character.[11]

As Igor Kopytoff recently emphasized, this tradition may well represent a characteristic feature of sociogenic processes in Africa:

> Contrary to a previously widespread stereotype of sub–Saharan Africa as a continent mired in timeless immobility, its history has emerged to be a ceaseless flux among populations that, in comparison to other continents, are relatively recent occupants of their present habitat. In brief, Africa is a "frontier continent" (Kopytoff 1987:7).

This notion, I believe, could well serve as a starting point for further research into what might, upon closer inspection, turn out to be a transatlantic political tradition – a tradition which led to the transmission to a Brazilian situation of at least the name, though probably also the content of the state–forming *Ki–lombo* warrior society of the Imbangala.[12]

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[11]Cf. VANSINA 1966:124–155, BIRMINGHAM 1966:78–132; and MILLER 1976 passim.

[12]Not unlike the Brazilian maroon communities known as "quilombos", the Imbangala were an ethnically heterogeneous group which developed as a result of the conflicts in political frontier situations in Angola in the late 16th century. Although the word *kilombo* usually appears in contemporary accounts (as in CAVAZZI 1694:241, with the spelling "Chilombo") as a term for armycamp–like mobile settlements, Miller has shown that the *kilombo* can be considered a distinct pattern of social organization facilitating the reproduction of societies through the assimilation of foreign individuals. According to his analysis, the *kilombo* was an extremely centralized societal form which evolved out of a series of political innovations and was based on the model of cross–lineage warrior societies (cf. the report of Andrew Battell, an Englishman captured *and* "adopted" by Imbangala raiders in 1506, in: RAVENSTEIN 1901). Of course, the available sources do not permit sufficient documentation of the diffusion of the internal structure of the *kilombo* to Brazil. However, it seems reasonable to assume that organizational forms like the *kilombo*, developed in African frontier situations, might have served as models in the emergence of some Brazilian "quilombos" (cf. MILLER 1976:224–264, regarding the developmental history and ideology of the "African version" of the *kilombo*; see also LARA 1977, for an innovative though somewhat far–fetched hypothesis concerning its transfer to

In any case, Kopytoff's comments concerning *intra-African* frontiers apply to New World situations as well: "In all these instances", he writes, "displaced Africans faced the problem of forging a new social order in the midst of an effective institutional vacuum" (Kopytoff 1987:7); and in both hemispheres, their efforts invariably clashed with the hegemonial interests of the colonializing powers. In both the Old and the New Worlds, Europeans aimed at establishing and securing extractive economies – either based on the exportation of slaves, or of tropical consumer goods produced by these slaves. In both cases, they eventually succeeded in wearing down and often breaking the African resistance.

This was not, however, a process which could *a priori* have been predicted on the grounds of the "superiority" of their civilization, nor from their mind-set as Westerners endowed with that "special sense of history" allegedly lacking among their "primitive" contemporaries at the eve of European world domination.

Surinam, where the "weglopers" finally achieved a hard- won political independence in 1762 and thus stopped Dutch inland expansion once and for all; and Haiti, the first – although belatedly, nevertheless internationally recognized – "Black Republic", which proved able to resist even Napoleon's troops, offer a correction factor by which we might more accurately measure the "historical potential" of the non-European world.

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"SISTER NANNY A ONE A WE, BROTHER KOJO A ONE A WE, BROTHER BOB MARLEY A ONE A WE..." THE CONTINUITY OF BLACK RESISTANCE IN JAMAICA

Werner Zips (Vienna)

Although Jamaica does not take up much more space on a medium-sized world map than the size of a point, it acquires an emminent importance in the scientific "reasoning" about Black history and culture in general. The search for the causes of this phenomenon leads to idiosyncrasies of Afro-Jamaicans in their struggle for self-determination and self-fulfillment. Their incomparable decisive insubordination is implied in the different forms of resistance against outside domination.

This determination to resist unites, possibly even on various levels, the rebellious acts of slaves with the declared war of the Maroons, with the revolt under the leadership of Paul Bogle, the Marcus Garvey inspired beginnings of the Black Power Movement, the "cultural revolution" of Rastafari and the permanent attacks of the internationally successful medium "Reggae Music" against the evils inherited in post-colonial society.

Instead of constructing a rather vague and abstract epitome of an "Afro-Jamaican revolutionary type", the perspective on Black resistance, its foundations and expressions, requires a differentiated approach in order to recognize the partially even antagonistic attitudes to Black resistance behind the common element that we might adequately call "rebellion of the personality". Proceeding from the assumption that human behaviour is situated, i.e. dependent on the individual's consideration of an actual situation, it does not seem reasonable to refer these only seemingly opposite ways of acting and reacting employed by Black people in the "New World" to the common categories of collaboration, accommodation or active and passive resistance. A long-time loyal slave could become a rebel or a runaway and later on a Maroon just because of a changed situation or maybe only a change in his or her consideration of the situation. Static scientific models which operate on the basis of antithetical categories like active-passive resistance or accomodation-rebellion are in danger of underrating the power of judgement of oppressed people and their selective and calculating abilities (Craton 1982:14).

The breaches in Black resistance against European domination can only be understood if we "return" the competence to judge, decide and act consciously to the enslaved individuals, who were treated as passive subjects or rather objects by colonial history. Unsatisfying as this might seem, because it cannot restore dignity to the victims of European oppression and ignorance, this scientific undertaking is necessary in order to shed light on the hidden parts of the past, or as Bob Marley might say, on half the story which has never been told. Cultural identity depends to a large part on the historical experiences that can provide the descendants of enslaved people with a tradition of determinated resistance to be proud of and to use as a guideline for their own political and cultural action. Within this historical perspective, it is the continuous struggle that counts much more than the victories *per se*. But if we apply a reflective approach, the descriptive use of the term "continuity" needs to be defined even more restrictively in the context of Black resistance in the Caribbean.

Considering how many slave revolts have been betrayed by fellow Blacks, remaining loyal for whatever reason to their oppressor or rather, "downpressor"; how often runaways left the Maroon hideouts to lead the British soldiers to the villages of their former companions; or to choose a more recent topic, to which extent a small national elite cooperates with the foreign "investors" to its own advantage and to the disadvantage of "its people", it seems necessary to show more reservation in speaking of the "continuity of Black resistance". Strictly speaking, only the primary value of resistance can be interpreted as being continuous: the longing for freedom and self-determination. Very few could achieve this goal for themselves. But modifying the above argument, it is this (continued) existence of the above-mentioned primary value which is of more importance for the question of cultural identity than its realization or outspoken success.

Without intending to carry on the argumentation to absurdity, one could go so far as to conceive even acts of treachery as partial realizations of consideration and self-determination – though adverse to the intentions of freedom; the doctrine of the subhuman character of Black people lay at the core of the justification of slavery used and accepted by practically all European political and social powers (governments, churches and ordinary society members) for the juridical reification of the Black "labour force". Although this attempted reification failed exactly because of the resistance offered by the oppressed, the collaborators with the plantocracy proved the untenability of the reification of the enslaved Africans; things ("res") are neither able to collaborate nor to rebel. Both ways of "conduct" are based on conscious decisions, whether chosen under pressure or not.

On behalf of the Maroons, we can likewise speak of continuous resistance in a rather generalized sense. The peace treaties in the years

1738/39 not only brought an end to the 85-year-old guerilla war against the British administration and established the quasi- static independence of the Maroon nations, but also changed their political role fundamentally. Almost over night, they made the bitterest enemies the slavemaster society was ever challenged by into allies of the plantocracy in all internal and external conflicts – albeit under observation of a far-reaching autonomy on the side of the Maroons. Articles 6 and 7 in the peace treaty between the British negotiators John Guthrie and Francis Saddler and Captain Cudjoe (Kojo – until today revered as founder of the Maroon state and cultural hero by the Maroon descendents) state:

> That the said captain Cudjoe and his successors, do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men commanded on that service by his excellency the governor or commander in chief for the time being, all rebels whereso-ever they be throughout the island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to captain Cudjoe, and his successors. [...] That in case this island is invaded by any foreign enemy, the said captain Cudjoe, and his successors herein after named or to be appointed, shall then, upon notice given, immediately to repair to any place the governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or her utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the commander in chief on that occasion. (PRO:CO 173/23, W.4; see HART 1985: 119).

As Kopytoff (1979:46) stated, the Maroons interpret the peace treaties as sacred charters or documentary evidence of their genesis as a "peaceful society" since then, which enabled them to organize themselves without being threatened with complete extinction at the hands of their former tormentors. The agreements guaranteed them the right to govern themselves and administer their own affairs, including jurisdiction. That is why they are kept as irrevocable charters, consecrated by the exchange of blood between the signers on each side. "While reinterpretations did occur, any attempt to tamper with the treaties themselves was seen as a direct threat to the Maroons' corporate existence" (Kopytoff 1979:46). The Maroons conceive of the "critical" (in the sense of controversial) passages in no way as a sell-out of their ideals, or a betrayal of the Black liberation struggle, as some more radical Blacks argue today, but as the foundations of their stipulated freedom and self-determination. Until today they have managed to defend their autonomy – against all odds – not only on paper, but in socio-cultural reality; in 1989 they celebrated the 250th anniversary of the peace treaty. For this remarkable achievement it was necessary to give their potential enemies (after the colonial power the

"new-born" independent state Jamaica) the certainty of continued readiness to defend their once-gained rights. At the same time they had to resist culturally the more subtle inner colonization through the European values system, influencing them at a psychological level.

This uncompromising independant mentality, their refusal to subordinate themselves, made the Maroons into "symbolic figures" for Black resistance, in spite of their controversial alliance with the colonial authority. Marcus Garvey had ambivalent sentiments as well, concerning the historical change of roles by the Maroons, as his wife Amy Jacques Garvey (1974:29f.) mentioned:

> Pa Garvey was a stocky man, muscular and strong. He was descendant from the Maroons, the African slaves who defied the English administrator and soldiers, fled to the hills and fought a guerilla war. [...] A treaty was signed, and the Maroons were given certain tax-free land areas and the right to govern themselves. In the 1655 slave rebellion the Maroons decoyed the brave rebel leader Paul Bogle and captured him for the English authorities; perhaps that was why Pa Garvey brooded so much as he looked back on the history of his people.

A few pages later, however, Mrs. Garvey (1974:33) describes the positive identification her husband had with the "Maroon militant myth", based on historical facts:

> The Maroon blood was stirring in his veins, and he felt that it was time for him to carry on the struggle for which the patriots of old had sacrificed.

Using metaphorical diction, Nettleford (1978:182f.) analyses the present day fundamentals of this struggle, relating it evidently to the heritage of the famous guerilla warriors in the history of Jamaica and other Caribbean islands:

> The cultural dynamics of change must go hand in hand with the political and economic thrust in a tripartite assault on the enemies of freedom, independence and sovereignty. But while political, economic and cultural strategies must be deployed together in close alliance for what is at core a common struggle, each area of action must be seen to have its own intrinsic logic, methodology and vernacular. [...] For the struggle of which I speak is not a pitched battle designed for generals pouring out of stately military academies. It is the sort of struggle that requires the swampland genius and bush intelligence as well as the studied cunning and sophistication of the guerilla warrior.

It is therefore not astonishing that the founder of the Nyahbinghi Order in Jamaica, Leonard P. Howell, employed strategies and organizational structures otherwise known of the Maroons to administer the first large Rasta Community on an autonomous level. Rastafari translates Nyahbinghi with "death to Black and white downpressors": it implicates cultural resistance through spiritual warfare against Babylon, interpreted by the Rastafari philosophy as the system of "downpression" in its various historical and modern appearances. They use the term as a synonym for evil in general (cf. Zips 1988:283). Leonard P. Howell, whom the social scientist and Rastaman Jah Bones (1985:16) calls "giant in the annals of Rasta doctrine and livity", as well as "commanding general of the highest qualities", established Rastafari in Jamaica with the foundation of the Rasta Community "Pinnacle":

> He and his brethren got hold of some land in the hill region of Sligoville near to Spanish Town in the parish of St. Catherine, not far from Kingston. It is reported that the Rasta commune, that Howell and his people built, was patterned on Maroon towns that are plentiful in Jamaica. Howell was very powerful and this caused him to gain the unreserved loyalty and respect of his comrades. For a living the people of the commune, which was later called Pinnacle, planted cash-crops, including ganja, tomatoes, yams, peas etc. Rasta life at Pinnacle had all or most of the Maroon characteristics. Pinnacle, as a communal village, was tightly organized on a communal basis. (Jah Bones 1985:17).

In giving these short examples from the social and cultural history of Jamaica, I have tried to elaborate the paradigmatic conditions underlying a meaningful use of the term "continuity of Black (Afro-Jamaican) resistance". This problem seems far from being purely academic, because the continuous active and creative resonse of Afro-Jamaicans and other Caribbean people (to foreign or internal oppression) in their struggle for dignity and freedom should be seen as fundamental for the perspective of cultural identity. To place it in the foreground of scientific, political and social discussion is to disrupt finally the obsolete stereotype of the passive and subordinate oppressed. The continuity of resistance expresses itself, within the consciousness of many Black people in Jamaica, in their shared readiness to resist against attempts of oppression, whether through religious, cultural, economic or political means. In the song *A One a We* (on the LP *Culture at work;* 1986) the Reggae group *CULTURE* confirms the spiritual bonds with Black people, who fought the same struggle for the rights of freedom and self-determination:

> I and I keep fighting for the rights...
> Shadrack, Meschack and Abendigo, A one a We

Messiah Marcus Garvey, A one a We
Malcom X, as you know him, A one a We
Man like Paul Bogle, the same one, A one a We...
I and I keep fighting for the rights...
A girl like Sister Nanny, A one a We
A man like Brother Kojo, A one a We
Man like President Tugman, A one a We
Man like brother Bob Marley, A one a We
But most of all to stand by our side as
The King of Kings and Lord of Lords
Emperor Haile I Selassie I, I and I
I and I keep fighting for the rights...
brought us down here on the plantation
to work hard and feed everyone and when
we no feed the old babylon them turn
and call we wicked man
I and I keep fighting for the rights...
brought us from Africa to slave we
whole time on the plantation and when
the time for us to get pay they say
go away you a old black man
I and I keep fighting for the rights...

Conclusion

Culture's "Reggae Chant" is but one musical example of the continual efforts of Black artists in the African diaspora to stress the necessity of unity of the oppressed in their struggle for liberation. It is this historical and cultural unity on which various concepts of Black Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Afro-Centrism are based. All of these ideologies embody strategies opposing the politics of white supremacy. At the time they transcend the category of resistance through their socio-political visions. The continuity of Black resistance in Jamaica (and the African diaspora in general) can be confirmed upon accurate study of historical sources. But in doing so, it is essential that the unrecorded acts, thoughts and perspectives of the Afro-Jamaican population be neither neglected nor denied.

Following are just a few examples of needed studies on the question of continuity: it is necessary to conduct research on the Jamaican and Caribbean predecessors of Marcus Garvey (see Clarke 1974:14 ff.), as well as to focus on the links between Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association and the potes of the Harlem Renaissance (see Kinfe 1991:100

ff.), or to ask for the ideological influences on Bob Marley and the Wailers (see Whitney/Hussey 1984). In addition to that, I suggest "reading" these documented interactions between outstanding individuals in the wider context of the communicative experiences, shared by a majority of Black people in resisting against the social conditions imposed upon them by means of European domination. For this interpretative approach, the Reggae title *A One a We* offers a metaphor; it places the achievements of leading personalities in the astruggle for freedom within the continual readiness of the oppressed in "... fighting for their rights".

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II

Language and Oral Cultures

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AMONG THE EAST INDIAN SURINAMESE

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Why is it that to this day many East Indian Surinamese still speak a language of East Indian basis, called Sarnami? The East Indians have long been a minority in Surinam,[1] and only in about 1965 they came to be the largest ethnic group in that country, the Creoles from that time onwards being the second-largest group. The official language in Surinam was and still is Dutch, the former colonial language, and its lingua franca is Sranantongo, an English- based Creole language. So why have most Surinamese of East Indian descent not dropped their own language in favour of Sranantongo or Dutch? It is a question well worth asking, because the East Indians in, for example, the neighbouring country Guyana did give up their own language. In this article some circumstances will be discussed which may have contributed to this maintenance, which is an aspect of alternative, East Indian culture in the Caribbean.

The East Indians came to Surinam as indentured labourers in the period 1873-1916. Their arrival was a consequence of the abolishment of slavery in the Netherlands in 1863. In 1834 the British colony Mauritius had started to contract East Indian labourers, soon to be followed by, among other countries, Trinidad and Guyana. Surinam started rather late in this respect, to be followed by Fiji only, in 1879. In a period of 44 years some 34,000 labourers came to Surinam, and only about one-third returned to India after their contract had expired. In 1971 their descendants numbered more than 140,000, which was 37% of the total population (as against the Creoles, 31%) (Moerland, 1984:35). The majority of these labourers came from North India and spoke mutually related regional Indian languages like Avadhi, Bhojpuri, and Magahi. In Surinam these languages developed into one common language, nowadays called Sarnami,[2] which is supposed to have been in existence from about 1900 onwards and in Surinam has replaced all Indian regional languages. In North India itself the language called Hindi became in the late 19th century the cultural standard language for Hindus and thus,

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[1] In 1921 the Creoles comprised 42% of the total population and the East Indians 23%. In 1950 these percentages were 36 and 31 respectively (MOERLAND 1984:35).

[2] On Sarnami see KISHNA 1984 and DAMSTEEGT 1988.

because contacts with India were frequent, Hindi came to be a prestige language for the Hindus in Surinam. For the Muslims (about 20% of the Surinamese East Indians) Urdu holds that position. It has the same grammar as Hindi, but differs from it in script and vocabulary. To this day Hindi (Urdu) is the language which according to the majority of the Hindus (Muslims) in Surinam should be spoken and written on all formal occasions focused on East Indians. That is the reason why parents tend to send their children to evening or weekend classes where Hindi is taught. Though most of them do not know Hindi well, they tend to look down upon Sarnami, which according to them "has no grammar", and is a boorish language. A small group, however, is now active in promoting the use of Sarnami for all purposes and giving that language more prestige, and though it does not meet with much approval (rather the contrary), there has been, for example, since some ten years a steady flow of literary texts in Sarnami. And in any case Sarnami is widely spoken and understood, in Surinam as well as among East Indian Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands. In Mauritius and Fiji, too, the descendants of the East Indian indentured labourers still speak their own languages (which are related to Sarnami), whereas in Guyana, Trinidad and Guadeloupe, to mention three other examples, most East Indians speak almost only a Creole language and occasionally the colonial language, viz. English or French.[3] Since the social conditions in these countries were more or less alike, as far as East Indians are concerned (they are a comparatively isolated group first, engaged in agriculture, and only from about 1920 onwards show an increasing upward mobility), it is an intriguing question why in some countries the Indic language has been maintained, whereas in others it has been dropped.

There are a number of sociolinguistic factors which may explain language maintenance or shift but are not applicable to this case, because they occur similarly in countries where the East Indians have given up their languages *and* in those where these languages have been maintained. Factors like, for example, the positive self- image of the indentured labourers, their initial idea of returning to India, or the lack of command of the languages used in the colonies (Creole languages, English, French, Dutch), might have explained language maintenance. Others might have been held responsible for language shift, for example, the general lack of economic value of the East Indian languages in these countries, the absence of prestige of the Indic spoken languages among the East Indian themselves, or the possibility of expressing a separate identity by means other

[3]Surinam: see note 2; Mautitius: BARZ 1980:5ff.; Fiji: MOAG 1977:v.; Trinidad: MOHAN 1978:29 and DURBIN 1973:1292; Guyana: GAMBHIR 1981:4,322; SMITH 1962:109,136; Guadeloupe: SINGARAVELOU 1975:139f.

than language (such as religion, dress, or food). They do not, however, apply here, as observed above. Living in villages or settlements (almost) entirely inhabited by East Indians, which would appear to contribute to language maintenance (Löber 1976:116f; Domingue 1971:19 f.), has not been a decisive factor either.[4] Nor, as we know from Mauritius and Fiji, the fact that in Surinam the indentured labourers were confronted with Dutch rather than English, a language they had already heard spoken in India. Finally, in all six countries under discussion a majority of the indentured labourers (at least 70-75%) came from either North or South India,[5] and there has been no serious rivalry between North and South Indian languages (which belong to entirely separate families) which might have led to the extinction of both.[6]

One factor which may lead to language shift is of a demographic character, viz. the number of immigrants as compared to the other inhabitants of the country in question. This factor may well have played a role in Guadeloupe,[7] where the East Indians apparently never have been a numerically significant group of the population and some twenty years ago (census of 1967) comprised only about 8% of the total population (Singaravélou, 1975: 86), which is far less than in the other countries mentioned above. Nor are there significant settlements in Guadeloupe inhabited (almost) exclusively by East Indians (ibid.). These facts have brought about an integration of the immigrants into the society of Guadeloupe which is said to have started soon after their arrival (Singaravélou, 1975:139ff). The East Indians were in huge numbers converted to the dominant Roman Catholic faith (which they adhere to superficially) and gave up their languages in favour of Creole – it is seen more often that East Indians converted to Christianity give up their own languages and adopt Creole (Domingue 1971:17; Durbin 1978:37). Such facts did not play a role in Guyana and Trinidad, however, where the East Indians were numerically significant and have not often been converted to Christianity, but yet have given up their own languages. So only part of the problem has been solved so far.

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[4]Not much is known, unfortunately, about the way of life in East Indian settlements in Surinam (cf. DE KLERK 1953:163 f.).

[5]Only in Guadeloupe the majority of the indentured labourers came from South India (SINGARAVELOU 1975:51). In the other countries under discussion, the majority came from North India.

[6]In the five colonies where the majority of the labourers came from North India (see note 5), the South Indian languages have gradually been lost.

[7]Thus SINGARAVELOU 1975:145 (and 50). Unfortunately, it is not indicated on p. 50 what percentage of the total population the number of about 22,000 East Indians in 1883, for example, comprised. The other reasons mentioned (ibid., p.145 ff.) are less pertinent.

Education is a significant factor in language shift or maintenance, and in a discussion of education in former colonies the role of the mission always has to be taken into account. We shall turn to these subjetcs now, discussing the Surinamese situation in some detail and comparing it to that in the other countries concerned.

In Surinam the Moravian brotherhood, which had been active there since 1735, actively engaged in missionary work among the East Indians. Like missionaries everywhere, they experienced the need to use the language of the people whom they wanted to convert. At first, missionary work among the East Indians was carried out by East Indian Christians like Sriman Singh, who had been converted in India (Legêne 1928:4ff). It is stated that Sriman Singh addressed the East Indians "in their own language" (id.: 9), and thus it is not certain whether he spoke regional Indian languages to them, or something like Sarnami, or Hindustani (a North Indian lingua franca), or Hindi. It is not improbable, however, that he used Hindi, because the East Indians tended to look down upon their spoken languages including Sarnami, and had Hindi (Urdu) as their prestige language. Somewhat later the Moravian church decided to send one of their missionaries to Berlin for studying Hindi, after which he arrived in Surinam in 1901.[8] The custom of using Hindi in much missionary work among the East Indians continues almost unchanged to this day. In 1923, for example, a Moravian missionary who had recently arrived from work in India in order to work in Surinam, wrote in his yearly report[9] about translating a number of church texts into Hindi, adding that he had prepared a Hindi coursebook in German for the use of his fellow brothers. Other Moravian missionaries, too, were active in translating, for example, hymns, while texts imported from India were also used. Later, however, some of the missionaries somewhat came to regret the use of the prestige language Hindi. In 1954 it is noted in an internal yearly report of the Moravian church in Surinam[10] that a cautious start has been made with preaching in "the local dialect" (by which Sarnami is meant) instead of Hindi. This decision, which has provoked some criticism of East Indian Surinamese, has been taken because the East Indians appear to understand Hindi not well enough. However, preaching in Sarnami takes

[8]Thus LEGENE 1928:10, and other sources. BENJAMINS-SNELLEMAN (1914-17:181) is an exception in stating that a European missionary belonging to the Moravian church and speaking Hindi worked among the East Indians from 1891 onwards.

[9]Rijksarchief Utrecht, ZZG (Zeister Zendingsgenootschap) 986, yearly report of 1923:(17f).

[10]Rijksarchief Utrecht, ZZG 986, yearly report of 1954: 11. I am grateful to the board of the Zeister Zendings-genootschap for their kind permission to consult these archives.

place among women and children only, it is stated in the report, because the missionaries do not yet want to give up the prestige language when addressing men. It shows how strong feelings against any formal use of Sarnami are among most East Indian Surinamese. That is also the reason why the Moravian missionaries used mostly Hindi rather than Sarnami, besides Dutch, in writings addressing the East Indians. Only in the nineteenseventies the missionaries of the America-based Summer Institute of Linguistics started with extensive religious and educative publications in Sarnami.

In order to support the preaching in Hindi the Moravian brothers gave lessons in reading and writing Hindi and religious tuition in Hindi in several Moravian schools throughout the country, and in some schools the same in Urdu, too (*Ons Suriname* 1931/1:12). In 1905 a Moravian school especially for East Indian children had been opened at the capital Paramaribo. In 1908 brother Wenzel, the missionary who had arrived in 1901, writes in a publication that the pupils are taught through the Dutch language, but that reading and writing Hindi is among the subjects taught, while they also learn Christian songs in Hindi (Wenzel 1908:4). In 1916 a Moravian orphanage for East Indian children was opened at Alkmaar, and a school at the same place in 1929, where the children were taught Dutch and Hindi or, in some cases, Urdu (*Ons Suriname* 1931/1:15). In the yearly report of 1933, published in *Ons Suriname* (1934/7,8:107), it is observed that even children of the orphanage who have already finished school, still receive Hindi lessons. However, notwithstanding all their efforts the Moravian brothers were hardly successful in converting East Indians.[11]

The same that has been said here about the Moravian mission applies to the Roman Catholic mission, which made more converts.[12] Since 1903 the Roman Catholic church, too, had missionaries who worked among the Surinamese East Indians exclusively. In 1916 there are two Roman Catholic schools for East Indian children, and in these schools as well as other Roman Catholic ones the East Indian pupils were given religious tuition in Hindi (*Een Halve Eeuw ...:* 48f; cf. De Klerk 1953:217ff).[13]

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[11]In about 1916 the Moravian church counted some 150 East Indian converts (BENJAMINS-SNELLEMAN 1914-17:182), in 1933: 500 (STEINBERG 1933:293), in 1972: 800 (BRUIJNING–VOORHOEVE 1977:186).

[12]According to the Census of 1964 there were 4021 Roman Catholic East Indians. According to the accounts of the church itself, their number was in that year 6417 (ABBENHUIS 1966:table 8).

[13]The attitude of the Roman Catholic church towards East Indians is also seen in a speech given in 1914 at the occasion of opening a new building of a Roman Catholic institute for East Indian boys. In that speech it is said that the East Indians should keep the "good" elements of their culture and that western

Even as recently as 1954 Hindi lessons were considered an important means to persuade parents to send their children to some school. In the abovementioned Moravian report of that year it is stated (p.16) that a Roman Catholic school in a locality in Surinam tries to draw pupils away from the Moravian missionschool in the same locality (where Hindi lessons had been terminated) by providing Hindi lessons.

Thus, though in principle they held the opinion that the East Indians should learn the colonial language (cf. Samaroo 1975:46), for practical reasons the missionaries paid attention to the languages of the East Indians in Surinam. Nevertheless, the education they gave does not seem to have been a decisive factor in language maintenance, because in other countries, too, missionaries used and taught East Indian languages. In the Caribbean the Canadian Presbyterians have been very active among the East Indians, in Trinidad from 1868 onwards (Brereton 1979:185), in Guyana from 1885 onwards (Samaroo 1987:109).

In some colonies, like Guyana (Rauf 1974:101), primary education was left entirely to the mission. In Surinam, however, education was also given in government schools, from 1867 onwards (Adhin 1973:85). In 1876 education was made compulsory for children aged 7-12 years, and Dutch became the language of teaching, whereas until that year education was often given through Sranantongo (Benjamins-Snelleman 1914-17:520). In 1878 compulsory education was extended to the East Indian children (Adhin 1973:91). In a report published in 1880 a Dutch official notes that teachers were surprised when, at the end of the week, East Indian parents came and asked money from the teachers for the "work" done by their children. He connects this phenomenon with the fact that in India missionaries occasionally paid some money to East Indian girls for attending school (KV 1880, bijlage G 1:8).[14] Even so it appears that some children obtained good results. In another report of the same year (KV 1880, bijlage L:3) a visit to a plantation is described, where a small group of East Indian boys runs after the official. He sends them off to school and later on talks to the teacher. During that interview it appears that a few boys who during some months had received education in Dutch had done quite well. In the report the opinion is brought forward that East Indian children should be encouraged to learn Dutch, in order to stimulate their parents to settle in Surinam. The government, however,

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civilisation should be brought to them gradually. They should learn Dutch besides their own language. This speech is quoted by VERNOOIJ (1974:56), who notes the contrast between this policy and the Roman Catholic missionary work among the Creoles, whose culture was not acknowledged.

[14]THEMEN (1935:72) notes similar incidents on Moravian schools, and explains them as a compensation which the parents ask because their children have not been able to work.

apparently does not support the idea of teaching Dutch, and in 1890 it is decided that so-called "coolie schools" will be opened, where East Indian children will be taught by East Indian teachers "in the languages of their homecountry" (KV 1891, bijlage C:11f, "in hunne landstalen"; De Klerk 1953:129ff). Several reasons can be mentioned for this decision. It was thought that such teaching would stimulate the East Indians to send their children to school, and that it was not proper to teach Dutch to children of British citizens who might decide to return to India.[15] In 1890 two such schools were opened, on two plantations. The report on education of that year (KV 1891, bijlage F 1:18) mentions that in one school the children were taught in "the Urdu and Nagari languages", while in the other the lessons were given in "Urdu". In other schools, opened later, lessons were also given in "Urdu and Nagari", or "Urdu" or "Nagari". Though in fact Nagari is the name of a script, viz. the script in which Sanskrit, Hindi and some other North Indian languages are written, Hindi is apparently meant by this term.[16] Education was thus given in the prestige languages of the East Indians. In 1906, when it had become clear that many East Indians were settling in Surinam, all these schools were closed and East Indian children were from then on to be taught through Dutch, but for a number of years East Indians acted as assistant teachers in schools where East Indian children were taught. They were to assist the regular teachers because of the children's difficulties with the Dutch language, and they were to give lessons "in languages of Hindustan" (KV 1907, bijlage G1:21, "Hindostansche talen"). Their assistance was not much appreciated by the Dutch regular teachers, however, who doubted its effectivity (*Rapport* S.O.G., 1920). In 1929, when many East Indians had settled in Surinam and East Indian children were no longer considered British citizens, an end was put to the institution of assistant teachers. From then on the East Indian children were to be educated in Dutch only, notwithstanding protests from some East Indian Surinamese. Hindi lessons were still allowed, but only when added to the regular program (De Klerk, 1953: 187).

The Dutch government thus joined the missionaries in their attention to the languages of the East Indians in education. However, both government and missionaries complained in these initial years about the small number of East Indian children attending schools, and the education in

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[15]McNEILL and CHIMMAN LAL mention in 1914 that teaching "Hindustani" has "gratifying results as regards the attendance at the schools", adding that parents "who have not finally decided to settle in the Colony naturally regard Dutch as an even less attractive medium of instruction than English" (*Uittreksel...*:39).

[16]According to McGREGOR (1974:66) Hindi was in the 19th century also known as "the Nagri language".

itself does not appear to be an adequate explanation of the language maintenace in Surinam. But it does show that the government, like the missionaries, was ready to pay attention to the East Indians as a separate group. Since the East Indians were British instead of Dutch citizens, until 1927 as far as the East Indians born in Surinam are concerned (De Klerk 1953:184ff), this attitude of the government is not surprising, though it did run against the principle of assimilation applied to the Creole population which in 1863 had become Dutch citizens. Quite probably the population of Surinam felt more or less the same towards the East Indian immigrants as the inhabitants of Trinidad and Guyana did, but for legal reasons the governmental attitude was different from that in those two countries, to which we shall now turn our attention.

The immigration of East Indians into Guyana started in 1838 and that into Trinidad in 1845, and these were countries belonging to the British empire. The East Indians could not claim a special status here, nor did the British in these countries show any interest in the East Indians apart from their capacity for labour, and thus no positive initiatives were taken towards the East Indians. The dominant culture in these countries was British and Christian, and the East Indians were in fact regarded as barbarians, whom the British felt they had to civilize (Brereton 1979: 186ff; Samaroo 1985:79f). In Trinidad, which went through a period of anglicisation in the 1840s and 1850s, Governor Keate, who in 1857 supported the establishment of an orphanage school for East Indians, expressed the hope that the East Indians, when properly trained, would become "a local Indian population, but English, in education and feeling and having no home associations beyond the limits of the colony" (Weller, 1968:75). Such was also the official policy of the British government, which aimed at an integration of the East Indians into the colonial societies (Samaroo 1985:80f). For this purpose the English language and culture were to be taught, and because of their civilizing effect (Despres 1967:125f). The education should, however, primarily inspire the pupils with discipline for labour, and not lead the East Indians away from agriculture, and was therefore of an industrial character. In fact, as observed by Samaroo (1975:44f), the government of Trinidad paid little attention to the schooling of the East Indians. They were allowed to attend the Ward Schools, but they hardly did so and were not pressed to do so (Wood 1986:230f). Only when in 1871 the Canadian Presby missionaries started separate East Indian schools (where English and Hindi were taught), East Indian children began to receive education. And the government was happy to leave their education to the missionaries. Only in 1888 Governor Robinson drew attention to the neglect by the government of the East Indian children, and wrote: "Their position is so peculiar as to warrant special treatment" (Samaroo 1975:45), whereafter in 1890 the establishment of

schools especially for East Indian children, where English as well as their own language was to be taught, was made possible. Until that time the identity of the East Indians as a separate group deserving special attention was not officially acknowledged by the government. And in Guyana the situation probably was not much different. The opinion of Kirke (1898:217ff), a retired Sheriff in Guyana, about the East Indians is quite the same as that described above with regard to the British in Trinidad. And it is significant that in Guyana education was left entirely to the initiative of missionaries, who only in 1885 started to work among East Indians.

Fiji was another British colony, but there the situation was quite different from that in Trinidad and Guyana. The British had accepted the Fijian offer of cession rather reluctantly in 1874, and regarded it their duty to protect the Fijian way of life. This policy implied that the East Indians were treated as a strictly separate group, though for other reasons than in Surinam. This attitude is quite clear in the educational policy in Fiji. In 1898 missionary groups opened schools for East Indians, while at the same time some East Indian organisations established their own schools, but only from 1916 onwards, when the government started its own East Indian schools and aided other ones, education of the East Indians began to develop properly. The language of instruction in these schools was Hindi (Mayer 1963:29f, 44f). And on small plantations Fijian was used by overseers, but on the large ones, where two-thirds of the East Indians came to work, Hindustani was spoken (Siegel 1987:148ff).

The situation in Mauritius, also a British colony, differed from that in Trinidad and Guyana in two respects. First, in 1861, 27 years after the start of the immigration, about two-thirds of the Mauritian population consisted of East Indians (Benedict 1965:17). Compare this to the figures in Guyana, where in 1869 (31 years after the start of the immigration) only 22% of the total population was East Indian (Nath 1950:203). And in Trinidad in 1871 25% consisted of East Indians (Wood 1986:158). That could be part of the reason why the East Indian languages had a better chance of survival in Mauritius than in Trinidad or Guyana. Secondly, Mauritius had been in British hands since 1810 only, when it was captured from the French. The English promised at that time not to suppress the French language or Roman Catholicism (Asgarally 1986:136). The British hold over the island was never so strong as in their other colonies, while French people still present who might have wished to promote the French language and culture, were not backed by the British government.[17]

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[17]As for education in Mauritius, East Indian schools (partly private, partly governmental) existed from the 1860s onwards, and instruction was given through Indian languages in order to teach English and French on an elemen-

It would seem, then, that in those countries where, for whatever reason, the government at least in an early period paid special attention to the East Indian immigrants as a separate group, the East Indian languages had a chance of survival. The attention given by the governments to the East Indians has been shown here in the aspect of education. The education in or through Indian languages in itself, however, does not explain the language maintenance in these countries. It would rather seem to be the entire atmosphere in a given society, which in some cases did, in others did not respect the East Indian identity.[18]

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tary level. The government vernacular schools were, however, closed in 1881, and at the close of the century "mixed schools" (attended by both Indian and Creole children) were becoming common (RAMYEAD 1985: 18ff). Philip Baker (London) has kindly drawn my attention to this and a few other points.

[18] As observed by BARZ (1988), the recent existence of written literature in Sarnami, Mauritian Bhojpuri, and Fiji Hindi may well contribute in future to a possible survival of these languages.

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KÉLÉ IN ST. LUCIA — A MINORITY CULT EMERGING FROM THE UNDERGROUND

Manfred Kremser (Vienna)

Among the many cultural traditions of the small Caribbean island of St. Lucia, the *Kélé* cults holds, in many regards, a special position. Until very recently this minority cult of the *Djiné* families has been the least known, but at the same time the most disputed of all the many cultural traditions of the island. This has been due mainly to the fact that the ritual actions of a *Kélé* ceremony, often termed as ancestral worship, culminate in a blood sacrifice, during which a ram, along with other food and drinks, is offered to African gods and ancestors. Foreign clergymen in particular, and also creole- speaking St. Lucians, who were aware of its existence without being actively involved, always treated the *Kélé* tradition of the *Djiné* with disrespect and condemnation – sometimes even calling it "pagan worship" or "devil worship". As a result this cult had been forced underground since it first appeared on the island over a hundred years ago. Only in recent years has *Kélé* been emerging from its underground existence, and is now a major focus of the ongoing debate on cultural identity, in keeping with a more positive public attitude towards the African cultural heritage. The reasons and circumstances responsible for these developments over the past hundred years will be discussed in this paper.

In order to better be able to perceive of the *Kélé* tradition in the wider context of St. Lucian culture, we might refer to the words of Harold F. C. Simmons, a pioneer of St. Lucian folk research. In 1963 he characterized the West Indian folklore tradition thus:

> For various historical reasons, the West Indian folk tradition is an *underground* tradition. Its songs, dances, festivals, beliefs and customs manifest an unceasing attempt to create forms of expression for a way of life which is at variance with established authority, orthodox religion, upper class morality, law, and other cultural forms having the sanction of authority. It has nevertheless consistently appropiated to its own use large fragments of the culture of the world above it. It has been under constant attack from the pulpit, the law makers, and its language is being pushed gradually out of existence by educational policy as well as by social forces not directly subject to control. (Simmons 1963:41).

This holds especially true for the *Kélé* cult in St.Lucia – formerly called by the populace *Plaisir Guinee* (Simmons 1963:45) – which has remained a nearly pure African tradition of the *Djiné* families. As such is has not only been attacked form the pulpit, but also by the majority of creole citizens. To have a better understanding of this, we have to go back in history over one hundred years and examine the social and cultural conflicts since the time of the first arrival of *Djiné* families on the island soon after Emancipation in 1838.

Djiné versus Creole Ex-Slaves

As a result of the abolition of slavery in 1838 St. Lucia – like the rest of the British West Indian islands – experienced the arrival of several immigration waves of liberated Africans (Kolar 1985:442- 489). Those immigrants, who came directly from the Guinea coast in Western Africa, called themselves *Djiné* or *Nèg Djiné* (formerly written Negre Guinee) – thus differentiating themselves from the majority of St. Lucia's creole population composed mainly of the descendants of former slaves.

One of these groups constituting the most prominent of the *Djiné* families on the island today, is said to have come from Yorubaland in Western Nigeria – namely from the *Ekiti* tribe (ref. Olawaiye 1980). According to their oral traditions they arrived in St.Lucia around the middle of the 19th century. Among the first generation of immigrants were the famous names of the founder families like *Assau, Joseph* and *Delaire.* They were leading members of African cults, namely of the *Shango* and *Ogun* traditions (ref. Barnes 1980, Bascom 1972, Ogundele 1965, Pollak-Eltz 1968, Simpson 1962).

These two religious traditions from Western Nigeria soon merged in St. Lucia to form a new cult, the *Kélé.* It is remarkable to note that, whereas most other religious cults in Afro-America have undergone syncretistic influences mainly with the Catholic religion (ref. Kremser 1988, Simpson 1980), the development which brought the *Kélé* in St. Lucia into existence could rather be termed as a syncretism between different African traditions (ref. Barber 1981, Edwards & Mason 1985). Up until now no Christian influence has been found in the *Kélé* ceremony.

According to Simmons (1963:45) the *Kélé* ceremony, the "most exotic" tradition of the island, began in St.Lucia "in about 1867, shortly after the arrival of families from Western Nigeria, of the *Ekiti* tribe, thirty years after the abolition of slavery".

Since then the *Djiné* were deeply involved in the practice of *Kélé.* These religious rites, directly imported from their African homeland, were termed as "pagan customs" by the members of the Christianized creole

population, and met with strong disapproval. Henceforth the *Djiné* were treated with great contempt by their fellow creole citizens, who used to scold them *"Mal Djiné"* whenever they performed their religious rites. This made their integration into the creole society extremely difficult.

Consequently, the *Djiné* formed their own settlements in remote locations around the "mysterious" *La Sorcière* mountain, with the high priests of the *Kélé* being not only their religious leaders, but also their political leaders, as well as the judges within their groups. The *Djiné* organized themselves in small village communities with a pronounced group solidarity, and preferred to intermarry within their founder families. They also held on to their African idiom – not only within the ritual context of their *Kélé* ceremonies, but also as a means of communicating between themselves (ref. Dalphinis 1985). The African idiom was also used as a secret language vis-a-vis outsiders. Compared to the neighbouring creole population and the *Nèg Congo,* the *Nèg Djiné* were also "considered to be superior and more versed in the mysteries of nature and magic" (Simmons 1963:45).

The high-priests of the *Kélé* cult fulfilled several functions within the *Djiné* groups. Not only were they the leaders of the *Kélé* ceremony, but they also were specialists in what they refer to as "African bush medicine". This knowledge in herbal medicine was sometimes linked with the practice of producing poisons for "black magic", called *Djinéfication.* These substances would be found in the calabash which is smashed at the end of every *Kélé* ceremony. It is associated with the African Orisa *Eshu,* also named *Akeshew* in St. Lucia. In Christian interpretation this word means "devil" (ref. Zander-Giacomuzzi 1981).

In order to protect their villages around the *La Sorcière* mountain from outside interference, they succesfully managed to build up a strong reputation as being dangerous *Obeahmen,* associating themselves with the meaning of the name *La Sorcière* (witch) and *Mabouya* (evil spirit) which was the Amerindian name for it. This way of deliberately giving themselves a fearful spiritual image can be seen as another subtle form of resistance against foreign intrusion and domination.

All these factors led to an increasing isolation of the *Djiné* from the rest of St. Lucian society, and finally caused their going underground as a cultural group.

The Djiné in the Context of Resistance in St. Lucia

The history of cultural resistance and physical withdrawl, especially into the *La Sorcière* mountain massif, dates back much longer. Over the past centuries the slopes around *La Sorcière* have always served as a

place of retreat for different groups of St. Lucian society, which were either threatened by their new rulers, or marginalized by the established authorities, even by the dominating creole population.

CARIBS: The first group to withdraw into the dense forests of this mountain massif were the *Caribs* in order to escape being subjected to the British and French invaders and colonizers. According to some sources, the priests of the Caribs used to have their sacred places with altars consisting of huge stones on top of that mountain, which they themselves had named *Mabouya* (or *Maboya)*, meaning "evil spirit" (ref. Rochefort 1665:471-484). There are rumors that they had performed human sacrifices on those altars.

MAROONS: Soon after, towards the end of the 18th century, hundreds of slaves escaped from the plantations along the north-eastern coast of the island, and took their refuge in the jungle of *La Sorcière.* There these maroons, called *Nèg Mawon,* met up with the *Carib* groups, who joined them in their struggle of resistance against slavery.

DJINÉ: A few years after Emancipation in 1838 the area around *La Sorcière* faced the arrival of the *Djiné.* They had originally landed in *Choiseul,* in the south of the island, and then moved on to the north-eastern part of St. Lucia to work mainly on the plantations in *Mitai, Grande Anse,* and in *Marquis Estate.* Since their integration into St.Lucian creole society failed, they settled down in remote areas after some years of hard work on the plantations. One of their leading members, *Assau,* established himself in a place called *Resina,* located on the north-western slopes of *La Sorcière.* There he bought about fifty acres of land which since then is called *Morne Assau* on the mountain, and *Fond Assau* in the valley. The descendants of *Assau,* especially *Coutou* and *Simeon Joseph,* were leading members of the *Kélé.* Around the *La Sorcière* mountain they still met isolated groups of *Caribs,* with whom they exchanged their knowledge in "bush medicine" and "magical practices". During the first decades the *Djiné* lived there in relative isolation from the rest of St.Lucian society. Only when the new road was built in the 1950s to link the area of *Babonneau* and *Fond Assau* with the Capital *Castries,* they became better known to the outside world.

RASTAFARIANS: The last St. Lucians to withdraw into the *La Sorcière* mountains in very recent times were small groups of *Rastafarians* since the 1960s. They chose to live a natural life, far away from *Babylon* system, and erected their bamboo houses high up in the mountain. However, in 1984, they were captured during police raids

and forced to leave, after most of the territory had been declared as water ressource by the Government of St. Lucia.

The Kélé Cult Under the Attack of the Church

The first documented evidence of *Kélé* in St. Lucia was a brief description in the local press by the island's leading ethnographer, Harold F.C. Simmons in 1942. In a later article Simmons (1963:45) states that

> the ceremony, since 1954, has been forced underground by the Roman Catholic Church, which seemed unaware of its existence until I wrote a brief description in the local press in 1941. The Church has forbidden its members to participate in kele, stating that it perpetuates the old-age beliefs in *obeah, quimbois, piaye, guardese* and other practices of sorcery.

These accusations sometimes were accompanied by the missionaries' threats to excommunicate baptized *Djiné* who practiced *Kélé*.

In April of 1973 Fr. Patrick A. B. Anthony, the founding director of the *Folk Research Centre,* St.Lucia, an institution geared towards the documentation and promotion of various aspects of St. Lucian traditional culture, was the first local Catholic priest to attend a *Kélé* ceremony at *Babonneau* with a view towards documenting it for further study. As a consequence, he came under severe attack by his superiors:

> As word of our attendance at that ceremony got around afterwards, Fr. Charles Jesse, Defensor Fidei for the diocese and also editor of the diocesan newspaper 'The Castries Catholic Chronicle', wrote an article against the ceremony entitled 'The Kele Sacrifice to Shango' (Anthony 1986:104).

In this article Rev. Jesse (1973a) called the ceremony "a public act of pagan worship" and claimed that

> the KELE is planned, organized ritualistic sacrifice, offered to the African deity SHANGO. It is offered by a person who considers himself, and is considered by others, as the priest of that deity. Incantations to that deity are made in the course of the ceremonies, and they constitute an act of worship. The whole set-up of altar, symbolic stones, secret ceremonial, ritual slaying of the victim or victims, chants, and the partaking of the sacrificial flesh – all indicates a pagan, religious rite [...] we are not here in presence of a quaint old tribal costum or charming old piece of folklore: we are in presence of an act of pagan worship. As the Scripture tells us, the gods of the pagans are demons: SHANGO WORSHIP IS DEVIL WORSHIP. No Christian may take part in it (1 Cor. 19-21).

This religious and cultural intolerance expressed by a leading representative of the Catholic Church was not reciprocated in the same way by the high-priests of the *Kélé* cult. In contrast, at the beginning of a *Kélé* ceremony the high-priest usually appeals to incredulous observers

> explaining that it is the same Catholic god being implored in the ceremony since "there is only one God". *Footnote:* It should be noted that all participants would be baptised Catholics and regular churchgoers. Both the leader and his assistant – at the 1973 and 1983 Keles which I attended – were prominent members of the Holy Name Society in the parish of Babonneau, and actively involved in many parish functions (Anthony 1986:107+118).

However, the conflict between the Catholic Church and *Kélé* continued until the early 1980ies, which experienced a sudden change of attitude in questions of cultural identity and tolerance. As a consequence the *Kélé* emerged from its 100 years of underground existence in St. Lucia.

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LA NOTION DE PERSONNE DANS L'ESPACE HAÏTIEN

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Dans l'espace haïtien et selon la croyance commune, tout être humain existe, vit, perçoit et se comporte comme une entité triadique d'un corps et de deux esprits que nous tenterons de définir tour à tour.

Kò – le corps

C'est le corps dans son entier, organes et enveloppe charnelle. A la mort de la personne, le corps devient *kadav* (un cadavre). Le corps est le lieu de séjour et de rencontre des forces spirituelles. Ces forces spirituelles sont conçues sous la forme de deux esprits (âmes) désignés sous les noms de *ti zanj* et de *Gwo bonzanj.*

Ti zanj – le petit ange, l'ange gardien

Pour l'Haïtien, ti zanj est le protecteur fidèle, l'ange gardien de la personne.

La petit ange ne quitte jamais le corps, même pendant le sommeil, comme sait le faire le gros bon ange et il lui reste attaché toute la vie.

L'affection corporelle, l'état de fatigue, de santé ou de maladie est un signe évident de sa présence dans le corps. La personne qui somnole a un petit ange qui a besoin de repos; le corps malade dénote un affaiblissement du petit ange protecteur face à des forces spirituelles plus puissantes que lui. L'extériorisation du petit ange hors du corps par des moyens magiques n'entraîne aucun préjudice vital à l'entité de la personne.

Gwo bonzanj – le gros bon ange

Le gros bon ange, lui, répresente le principe essentiel de la vie psychologique. C'est de lui que dépend la pensée, la volonté, la mémoire et les sentiments, en un mot, notre vie intellectuelle et affective. Le gros bon ange est donc fait à l'image de la personne auquel il est attaché. Il jouit cependant d'une certaine autonomie. Il peut s'affranchir du corps pendant le sommeil et agir librement.

C'est justement au cours de ces pérégrinations et de ces diverses actions hors du corps que le gros bon ange peut se heurter aux forces du mal qui l'empêchent de réintégrer le corps.

Une extériorisation définitive du gros bon ange hors du corps signifie la mort de la personne. Une extériorisation non volontaire du gros bon ange hors du corps par des moyens magiques entraîne la mort psychique de la personne.[1]

Les âmes/esprits et le corps sont des substances partielles et uniquement l'être humain qu'elles constituent est un être complet, une personne. Rien d'étonnant alors que l'union harmonieuse et l'interaction du corps du ti zanj et du gwo bonzanj dominent et conditionnent le vécu psychique et physique de la personne haïtienne.

Une image directrice: le corps

Le corps, par sa nature même (lieu de séjour et de rencontre des forces spirituelles) représente une idée directrice autour de laquelle s'ordonnent les croyances relatives à la personne. En Haïti, le corps est vécu comme un instrument dont le dérèglement peut nuire à la cohérence des forces spirituelles et par là même, à l'équilibre de la personne.

Une des plus fortes expressions de cette appréhension se retrouve dans l'importance accordée à l'espace corporel dans le discours créole.

On ne peut manquer d'être frappé par la mise en acte de métaphores aussitôt qu'il s'agit de traduire des événements d'ordre physique ou psychique. En voici des examples:

- Désire-t-on s'informer de la santé physique ou psychique de quelqu'un, on lui demande *Kommen kò-a-ye* – Comment va son corps.
- A *kenbe kò* (contrôler sa vie psychologique pour garder son équilibre, pour faire face) s'oppose *lage kò* (s'avouer vaincu, être dans l'incapacité de faire face).
- L'expression *demonte kò* elle, met en garde contre toute imprudence qui pourrait affaiblir le corps et menacer l'équilibre des forces spirituelles qui l'habitent.
- De quelqu'un qui se laisse aller, on dit *Kò la lage-li* (son corps l'a laissé tomber) ou *i lage kò a li – li lage kò li* (il ne maitrise plus son corps).

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[1] Voir à ce sujet: Alfred METRAUX, "The Concept of Soul in Haitian Vodou", dans *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2/1946:84-92. Voir aussi Jean-Baptiste ROMAIN, "Quelques moeurs et coutumes des paysans haïtiens", dans *Revue de la Faculté d'Ethnologie* 2/1974:154-155 et 204-206.

- Le mot *kadav* (cadavre) s'emploie à la place de *kò* quand on fait référence à une personne dont l'état psychologique est tel qu'il lui faut reprendre ses sens. Par exemple, dans l'expression *repose kadav* ou *M'pral repose kadav mwen.*[2]

Moun/pa moun

L'attribution, ou la non-attribution du corps, du petit ange et du gros bon ange à un être humain est sans doute un des moyens qui permet de définir la personne dans l'espace haïtien. Il existe, selon la croyance commune des êtres humains à qui l'on ne peut pas, ou ne peut plus, attribuer ces / ou l'une de ces trois composantes. De ceux-là, l'Haïtien dira que *se pa moun.*

Dans l'espace haïtien, une étude de la *personne* ne peut se faire sans procéder d'abord à l'analyse des notions de personne/ non-personne, *Moun / pa moun.* Ces deux notions ne sont nullement antagonistes mais complémentaires. L'une fait toujours appel à l'autre, peut-être expliquée par l'autre, n'est pas possible sans l'autre et contient toujours l'autre en puissance.

Nous savons qu'il existe dans la mythologie haïtienne d'inspiration vaudouesque, une personne mythique: le zombi.

Une définition ethnologique nous apprend que:

> Les zombi sont des personnes dont le décès a été dûment constaté, qui ont été ensevelies au vu et au su de tous et que l'on retrouve quelques années plus tard chez un boko dans un état voisin de l'idiotie.
>
> Les zombi sont des morts-vivants, des cadavres qu'un sorcier a extraits de leur tombe et réveillés par des procédés mal connus.
>
> L'étincelle de vie que le sorcier réveille dans le cadavres ne le rend pas entièrement à la société des hommes. Le zombi demeure dans cette zone brumeuse qui sépare la vie de la mort. Il se meut, mange, entend, parle même, mais n'a pas de souvenir et n'est pas conscient de son état. Le zombi est une bête de somme que son maitre exploite sans merci, le forçant à travailler dans ses champs, l'accablant de besogne, ne lui ménageant pas les coups de fouet et ne le nourrissant que d'aliments insipides. [...]

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[2] Voir à ce sujet: Dany BEBEL-GISLER, *Les Enfants de la Guadeloupe,* Paris 1985:39.

> L'on reconnait les zombi a leur air absent, à leur yeux éteints, presque vitreux et surtout, à l'intonation nasale de leur voix.[3]

Réduit à l'essentiel, le mythe du zombi raconte l'histoire d'une personne qui, par la perte de son bon ange, c'est-à-dire du principe d'individualité qui lui confère sa réalité de personne, se transforme en non-personne (pa moun). Aussi peut-on affirmer sans crainte du paradoxe que le portrait du pa moun est bien celui du zombi mythologique.

Dans cette optique, les notions de personne et de non-personne (moun/pa moun), ne signifient pas uniquement, elles expliquent. Elles sont des valeurs de positions mutuelles. Alors que *moun* est en relation d'être avec les éléments qui la constituent, *pa moun* elle, est en relation de paraître (être) avec ces éléments.

Etre/paraître

Dès qu'il s'agit d'étudier la personne haïtienne, les deux notions être/paraître (être) doivent être pensées ensemble, car l'une entraîne et comprend toujours l'autre. Par ailleurs l'une ou l'autre de ces notions se retrouve toujours en référence avec les notions de personne/non-personne.

Par son corps matériel, le zombi paraît (être) une personne. Il peut être identifié et nommé. Les diverses anecdotes circulant dans l'espace haïtien sur des personnes faites zombi, donc non-personnes, le montrent. Retenons en guise d'exemple:

> Le houngan demanda à son invité s'il avait connu un certain Monsieur Célestin, mort six mois auparavant. Celui-ci, précisément avait été son grand ami. 'Voudriez-vous le voir?' interrogea le houngan lequel sans plus attendre fit claquer un fouet six fois. Une porte s'ouvrit et un homme apparut sur le seuil. Il marchait à reculons mais sa silhouette était familière à M. X. [...] Le houngan, d'une voix dure ordonna au personnage de se retourner. Comme il n'obéissait pas assez vite, son maître le frappa avec le manche du fouet. C'est alors que M.X. reconnut son ami Célestin.[4]

Nous dirons que le zombi Célestin a gardé son identité extérieure malgré la perte de l'intégrité des composantes de sa personne. Les autres (ici M.X.) continuent à le reconnaître, il paraît être le même. Ce qu'il n'est plus, c'est un être conscient. Il est incapable de discerner, voire de juger son état de dépendance à l'égard du houngan. Il est incapable de se réfléchir et de s'expliquer aux autres, ici à son ami. Il est sans *moi*.

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[3] Alfred METRAUX, *Le Vaudou haïtien*, Paris 1952, p. 250; p. 251.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Ce *moi* qui en tant que prédicat psychologique dit Je et le porte à agir (donc à s'orienter). Sans Moi/Je, point de conscience psychologique et sans conscience psychologique, pas de vie morale.

A un niveau plus général, dans le cadre de la vie sociale, les notions moun/pa moun, être/paraître servent à manquer fortement le sens des vertus, des qualités morales ou alors une certaine distance sociale.

Dans le premier cas, dire à quelqu'un *ou pa moun* c'est porter un jugement moral sur son comportement. C'est le classer dans la catégorie de paraître (être); c'est l'atteindre dans son être (une personne).

Dans le second cas, dire de quelqu'un *li pa moun,* c'est se référer à ses appartenances sociales qui se confondent avec son être (par exemple, par les images du corps), c'est le définir dans la catégorie de paraître (être) et se situer par là par rapport lui et aux autres.

Nous dirons que les antagonismes moun/pa moun et être/paraître définissent ici des positions de valeurs morales ou sociales relatives á l'acte de parole.

Dans sa dimension psycho-sociale, les notions moun/pa moun, être/paraître (être) ne peuvent se définir en fait qu'en référence aux autres (entourage familial et social, les rôles, les statuts) et les autres définissent ces notions en référence à eux-mêmes. En effet, c'est le regard des autres qui décide, en partant il est vrai d'un fait événementiel, qui est zombi, donc une non-personne.

Si les croyances vodouesques jouent un rôle primordial dans ce système de référence, il ne faudrait pas croire que son interpretation ne peut-être comprise que par les vodouisants. En effet, on ne peut manquer d'être frappé par l'importance que la Parole Haïtienne donne par exemple, au portrait physique et psychique du zombi. Dans le cadre de la vie courante, dire à quelqu'un *qu'il ressemble à un zombi,* c'est se référer à son air absent. *Le zombifié,* c'est celui qui n'est pas autonome. Parler de *la zombification* du peuple haïtien, c'est se référer à son manque de prise de conscience face à son destin. D'autre part, dans le champ littéraire, ce n'est certainement pas par hasard si les écrivains haïtiens Frankétienne dans son roman *Désafi* (1975),[5] ou, plus récemment, René Depestre dans *Adriana dans tout mes rêves* (1987)[6] recourent tous deux au thème mythique du zombi. Ils savent que le message qu'ils veulent faire passer sera compris indifféremment de tous les Haïtiens.

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[5]Aux Editions Fardin, Port-au-Prince.

[6]Aux Editions Gallimard, Paris.

HAÏTI, AU JOUR LE JOUR. UN PROJET D'EXPOSITION EN ALTERNANCE AUX HABITUDES

Jean-Loup Rousselot (Munich)

Rares sont les expositions sur Haïti, et souvent elles se contentent de présenter l'art naïf, dont la facture douceâtre de cet art alimente le préjugé des occidentaux imaginant les insulaires heureux et sans–souci. Conscient de cet écueil le Musée d'État d'Ethnologie de Munich prépare une exposition centrée sur la vie rurale et la routine de la vie quotidienne des paysans haïtiens. Les recherches sur le terrain et la préparation de l'exposition s'organisent autour d'une concertation pluridisciplinaire entre les chercheurs européens et haïtiens d'une part, et la consultation des indigènes observés d'autre part. L'exposition aboutira à une auto-représentation des villageois vus-par eux-mêmes. Dans cette visualisation les autochtones présentent leur culture au monde éxterieur, une conception s'opposant à l'habituelle étude menée par un observateur autorisé et avisé, abordant de son mieux une culture étrangère.

En outre, l'exposition sera présentée en Haïti et en Europe. Les collections ethnographiques réalisées pendant le travail sur le terrain seront divisées entre les deux institutions coopérant à ce projet.

Tourisme, Médias et Aide Gouvernamentale

Haïti reste bien méconnu du grand public, et ceci pour deux raisons, l'île n'est pas fréquentée par le tourisme et est délaissée par les médias. Le monde antillais, et tout particulièrement Haïti, ont toujours évoqué dans l'imagination européenne un monde exotique sublimé. Le cliché le plus répandu, représente ce monde insulaire tel un paradis, e.g. les indigènes heureux et pacifiques regagnant leurs maisons en chantant après les travaux dans les champs ou les pêcheurs accostant leur modeste voilier près d'une plage blanche et ensoleillée, le tout ayant en arrière plan une élégante palmeraie.

Haïti si chère à tant d'idéalistes, du fait de son origine révolutionnaire, est en fait depuis presque le lendemain de la déclaration de son indépendance devenue un État totalitaire. En outre ces dernières décennies une police arbitraire, omniprésente et guère contrôlable, a par une brutalité par trop visible rendu impossible tout tourisme. Un état de choses

sans précedant, car les vacanciers sont par essence neutres et inintéressés par toute question de politique intérieure. Ce fait passa tout d'abord inaperçu, car il y a de nombreuses autres îles qui pouvaient satisfaire ces touristes avides de soleil, de chaleur et de calme. Les visites de Haïti se limitent à des visites éclairs de quelques heures pour acheter des peintures naïves dans le port de Port-au-Prince ou du Cap-Haïtien, et encore cela n'est vrai que pour les passagers de paquebots faisant une croisière dans les Caraïbes. Fort rares sont les touristes qui ont pénétré dans le pays jusqu'à la forteresse du Roi Christophe, qui pourtant n'est qu'à deux heures du Cap. Le nombre des touristes n'a pas progressé depuis l'exil de la famille Duvalier, car l'insécurité générale est telle, que le brigandage omniprésent rend impossible l'implantation de structures d'accueil des vacanciers.

Le silence embarrassé, de convenance, ou complice des médias en ce qui concerne la politique intérieure, les conditions de vie matérielles, et, les libertés individuelles en Haïti, a eu bien des répercussions, le grand public sait peu sur ce pays, car les reportages à la radio et à la télévision étaient rares jusqu'à l'expulsion du dernieur dictateur (7 février 1986). Les gouvernements occidentaux eux-mêmes étaient soucieux de garder leurs distances vis-à-vis d'un gouvernement despotique, le nombre restreint de projets d'aide au développement du pays reflète cette attitude prudente. Sur le plan de la recherc et de la coopération universitaire, on retrouve la même attitude circonspecte des institutions étrangères. Dans une grande mesure on peut dire que si les artistes haïtiens ne maintenaient pas le monde des arts en haleine depuis la fin des années quarante, on pourrait se demander si l'ombre des excès d'un régime totalitaire n'aurait pas complétement eclipsé – dans tous les domaines – la culture haïtienne sur le plan international.

Les récents événements politiques en Haïti ont replacé ce pays oublié au centre de l'actualité. De ce fait dernièrement divers journalistes se sont livrés à des études sur le pays, dans lesquelles les conditions économiques et la vie des citadins, en particulier, sont l'objet de reportages. Ceci représente un réel progrès vis-à-vis de la situation des années précédentes.

Musée

Les musées par contre n'ont pas suivi cet exemple et n'ont pas donné suite à l'actualité en préparant des expositions, qui auraient rendu compte de la situation contemporaine/du moment replacée dans un cadre historique. On peut dire que les expositions sur les Antilles et en particulier sur Haïti sont rares, et quand l'une d'elles est organisée, c'est en général pour présenter l'art et non l'habitant et sa façon de vivre. Les arts plastiques

et la peinture sont des thèmes qui se prêtent au lancement des loisirs en pays exotiques. En effet, les expositions d'art exotique constituent une source important d'information pour les touristes éclairés, et parfois sont à l'origine d'un voyage de découverte dans le pays présenté.

Il faut avouer qu'il y a peu de collections conséquentes déposées dans les musées qui proviennent des Caraïbes. Les expositions permanentes sur cette région sont modestes, et limitées au domaine de la préhistoire. La plus complète est probablement celle du Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation, New York). La préhistoire est également peu connue, car les campagnes de fouilles archéologiques ne sont pas intenses et restent souvent ponctuelles quand elles existent. Il n'y a pas de coordination entre les travaux qui sont menés par les institutions scientifiques de différents pays.

En ce qui concerne le passé récent, la nécessité d'une collection ethnographique se fait encore plus sentir, car mise à part celle de Alfred Métraux du Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution, Washington), dont la taille modeste limite l'intérêt, on ne peut parler de collections mises à la disposition du public.

Munich

La situation à Munich est analogue à ce qui vient d'être dit, la première exposition sur Haïti fut présentée au Musée d'Ethnologie de février à juin 1987. Cent dix tableaux d'art naïf et quatre-vingt sculptures en fer provenant d'une collection privée formaient l'essentiel de cette exposition. Au reste, elle n'aurait jamais eu lieu sans la force de persuasion et la générosité des collectionneurs eux-mêmes. Ces oeuvres des meilleures artistes contemporains dataient toutes des vingt dernières années. La préparation de cette exposition avait à l'origine rencontré un certain scepticisme, car d'une part à cette époque tout un chacun entendait jour par jour des nouvelles concernant Haïti et les efforts locaux pour instaurer et stabiliser un régime démocratique, et d'autre part la présentation de peintures naïves célébrant la vie bucolique et donnant une impression générale de sérénité allait à l'encontre de ce que le public maintenant informé s'attendait à voir en entendant le nom Haïti. Les commentaires contenus dans le cahier placé à la sortie de l'exposition à l'intention des visiteurs pour inscrire leurs remarques ont confirmé cette opinion, mais également démontré que l'art haïtien avait enthousiasmé de nombreux visiteurs, le nombre de critiques traitant de l'exposition parues dans les journaux et le succès des conférences accompagnant l'exposition ont encouragé les responsables à envisager une prolongation de cette exposition d'art, en

se livrant cette fois à un approfondissement de la découverte de ce pays essentiellement agricole.

Préliminaires

Le projet en cours est donc de soumettre au public dans un musée européen, une présentation fidèle de la vie quotidienne dans un village haïtien. Il découle de cet objectif une série de décisions à envisager. La première devant pallier au manque de collections ethnographiques disponibles dans les musées et propres à ce projet, donc une collection systématique reste à faire. A défaut de recherches faites tout récemment sur la paysannerie haïtienne, il convient de prévoir ici aussi des fonds et du personnel pour mener une étude du milieu rural d'aujourd'hui. De ces prémices découle la nécessité de procéder à l'étude d'un village qui sera récréé dans les salles du musée. Pour rendre ce projet faisable et scientifiquement satisfaisant, on se livrera à l'étude d'un village bien spécifique.

Transplanter et reconstruire ce qui est donné par la réalité, pressentie par l'ethnologue qui se livre à une étude sur le terrain, correspond à une complexe mise en scène réplique de la vérité perçue. Cette volonté de rendre l'ambiance qui environne un objet, est un légitime objectif des expositions de notre époque, où pour redonner l'atmosphère, non seulement on exhibe une masse d'objets originaux mais le context culturel est rendu sans tomber dans l'exotisme. Il est certain que jamais la réalité ne peut être sérieusement recréée, car elle restera incomplète, même si elle est l'oeuvre d'un observateur lucide et perspicace, elle ne peut pas tout montrer; en plus elle est une sorte de prise de vue instantanée: avant et après la réalité était différente. De plus on se heurte à des limites de la technologie de notre époque, par exemple, le chaleur tropicale, les senteurs et les bruits, le fourmillement humain et la résonance des pas de marcheurs sur le sol desséché ne peuvent être ni emmagasinés et transportés, ni recréés pour le besoin de l'exposition. Il reste que tout ce qui est meuble et immobilier peut avec un budget approprié être théorétiquement acquis. Ceci est d'autant plus aisé que la population concernée est informée du propos du projet, et est incorporée à sa préparation par des audiences publiques et des interviews privées et que la possibilité de participer activement à sa réalisation lui est conférée. La place faite aux autochtones dans le travail sur le terrain, présente une alternative vis-à-vis du type d'expositions normalement organisées, dans lesquelles les scientistes conçoivent la préparation et la réalisation.

Programme: Réalisation pratique

Dans une première étape, déjà réalisée, des démarches auprès des milieux officiels haïtiens (Ambassade, Bureau National d'Ethnologie; Université; Administration; Missions) ont été entreprises. Il s'agissait d'établir des liens menant non seulement à une autorisation de séjour pour réaliser un travail sur le terrain, mais également par courtoisie envers les confrères haïtiens avec lesquels nous voulons développer des relations paritaires. Ces pourparlers aboutissent à une entente sur le principe d'une coopération en ce qui concerne l'ethnographie du village à étudier et du site à choisir. Il est également envisagé de se livrer à une prospection archéologique, et éventuellement à des fouilles, si la région du village choisi s'y prête. L'équipe se livrant au travail sur le terrain sera également bipartite. Des personnes détachées du Bureau Nationale d'Ethnologie pourront participer à ce travail ainsi que les étudiants de la faculté d'ethnologie. Un certain budget est nécessaire pour réaliser la prochaine étape, qui est le choix du village à étudier. Il suivra une année de préparation consacrée à l'étude de la littérature antillaise et à la poursuite d'objects ethnographiques déposés dans des musées.

Un autre accord fut également atteint en ce qui touche la constitution d'une collection ethnographique indispensable à l'exposition. En principe chaque objet devrait être acquis en double: l'un restant d'une manière permanente à Port-au-Prince, l'autre destiné au Musée de Munich. Mais comme ces collections ont des fins différentes, elles ne seront pas réellement analogues. Toutes deux attesteront et documenteront par un étalage d'objets usuels le stage de la culture matérielle d'un village à la fin du XXe siècle. Mais celle de Munich devra être de plus grande envergure, dans sa forme, car elle tendra à recréer le site culturel, donc en plus des objets usuels qui font normalement parties d'une collection, des maisons, des abris, des échoppes, des arbres, des buissons, du sable et de la terre vont devoir être réunis. Il va de soi que certains types d'objets vont être rassemblés en plus grand nombre, comme des boites de conserves ou des fruits pour réaliser l'étal d'un vendeur. Ces deux collections ne seront pas entièrement identiques quant à la qualité des objets, l'une sera faite d'objets usuels et autochtones, pendant que l'autre ne manquera pas de rendre compte également de l'aspect contemporain, qui caractérise la culture haïtienne d'aujourd'hui. Ainsi des produits électroniques, des ustensiles en plastique et autres modernismes témoigneront pour l'époque que nous vivons.

Le travail sur le terrain sera pluridisciplinaire (ethnologue, agronome, médecin) et de conception hardiement libérale, car stimulé par l'interaction avec les indigènes étudiés. En plus des représentants du personnel spécialisé (designer, photographe, restaurateur), qui a la charge de réali-

ser l'exposition, participera au travail sur le terrain pour une durée de quelques semaines de manière à se familiariser avec le sujet qu'ils auront à mettre en scène, ainsi qu'à conseiller les chercheurs dans l'organisation des collections. De plus ils participeront à la preparation à Port-au-Prince des locaux où la collection permanente commune de l'exposition destinée à Munich est envisagée. L'exposition, elle-même, sera présentée à Munich ainsi qu'à Port-au-Prince.

Ce projet présente un certain danger, celui de s'enliser dans la banalité, car la routine jounalière de la vie rurale n'est en soi qu'une longue répétition de gestes familiés d'une grande simplicité, n'étant ni spectaculaire, ni dramatique. L'exposition devra éviter de tomber dans la monotonie ou de forcer l'exotisme pour être plus attrayant, car ceci irait à l'encontre du but de tout ce projet, celui d'intéresser d'une manière réaliste et favorable le public européen pour la culture antillaise.

Assistants autochtones

Il apparait recommandable que des autochtones soient incorporés au projet et qu'ils aient également la possibilité non seulement de donner leur opinion, mais de participer aux décisions dès le départ en guidant le projet dans ses grandes lignes. Le rôle des assistants autochtones: ils sont de deux types, d'une part des chercheurs et des étudiants qui font parti du personnel scientifique de l'enterprise, et qui, à ce niveau sont à part entière responsables de l'acquisition des informations sociologiques et ethnographiques, ainsi que de la collection ethnographique nécessaires à l'exposition.

Les autres membres sont les informateurs villageois qui en premier lieu "vivent et démontrent" leur culture et fournissent les informations verbales, qui sont souvent une réfléxion sur sa propre société. Mais ils devraient également orienter les recherches en raison de leur expertise. Du choix judicieux d'une communauté villageoise sensibilisée et gagnée au propos de ce projet dépend son succès. La perception de la symbiose existant entre-eux et leur environment, l'appréhension et la mise en perspective de leur communauté sociale formeront en quelque sorte la substance du message qu'il seront en mesure de communiquer aux européens. Il est à noter que ce projet n'est pas libéral par démagogie pour faciliter les contacts avec les observés, mais bien par conviction; le projet ne peut que s'enrichir de la participation active et conscientes des observés.

Bien sûr il n'y a pas lieu de douter qu'une recherche basée sur un questionnaire ne peut avoir un bon résultat que si le propos de l'étude est accepté par les interviewés. Ce qui est résolument original dans le projet décrit ici, c'est le fait que la mission scientifique sera bipartique, le travail

sur le terrain mené d'une manière communautaire et les directives non seulement données par les informants-participants au cours du terrain. Il est à retenir également que la collaboration à la mission de techniciens, comme les restaurateurs, le designer, le dessinateur contribue également à maximiser l'efficacité de la prise des décisions, faciliter la conceptualisation de l'exposition et de sa mise en place.

Conclusions

Ce projet innove sur trois niveaux:

- son sujet est non pas l'art reconnu, connu et acclamé, mais la vie de tous les jours en milieu rural,
- participation des étudiés en plein droit aux décisions,
- personnel pluridisciplinaire, non seulement scientifique mais également technique.
- Le face à face avec une société rurale, qui vit à l'écart des grands courants de notre époque, qui matériellement est très désavantagée, qui lutte quotidiennement pour un minimum vital, et, qui est soumis à de constants pressions politiques, va désillusioner grand nombre de visiteurs. C'est pourquoi la sobriété et l'impartialité de la présentation de l'exposition devra rendre justice à cette communauté dont la dignité naturelle et la richesse cultu-relle contrecarent la démesure de son dénuement matériel.

III

Marginal Cultures and Modernity

THE CONSTITUTION OF ALTERITY: FERNANDO ORTIZ AND THE BEGINNINGS OF LATIN-AMERICAN ETHNOGRAPHY OUT OF THE SPIRIT OF ITALIAN CRIMINOLOGY

Thomas Bremer (Giessen)

"Y el mundo a que pertenecía Fernando Ortiz, viéndolo entregado a tales estudios, decía: ¡Qué lástima que un hombre de tanto talento se dedique a estudiar a los negros!"

Alejo Carpentier, refering to the public opinion of Havanna[1]

An archeology of ethnographic research

In the summer of 1934, as the young Italian jurist Giuseppe Danieli visited the well-known Fernando Ortiz in Havanna in order to ask him his opinion on Cuban legal reform and the crime rate among the Blacks on the island, Ortiz received him, but virtually refused to answer his questions, offering only this strange sentence as a response: *"Per il diritto chiamato penale, io sono definitivamente morto"* (For the law called 'criminal law', I am definitively dead).

The sentence had embarassing consequences; for whether Ortiz had not expressed himself clearly enough, or whether Danieli was not precise in reporting of his visit upon returning to Italy, to the amazement of all concerned, shortly afterward, in the journal *Criminalia,* a lengthy sympathetic obituary appeared, with the headline *Ortiz è morto* (Ortiz has died).[2]

As is well-known, Ortiz himself refuted through his longevity – he did not die until 1969 at the age of 87 – all too clearly the rash announcement.

But I would like to ask: How is it that Ortiz, without whom all of Latin-American anthropology and ethnography in their present forms would not

[2]Cf. Israel CASTELLANOS in *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a Fernando Ortiz por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos,* La Habana 1956, vol. i, p. 331.

have been possible, and, as one of the main authors of the *cubanidad,* having become one of the intellectual 'masters' to whom post-revolutionary Cuba most refers, for example Miguel Barnet and other authors of the *novela de testimonio,* who consider Ortiz their ethnographic model – how is it then, that Ortiz' views underwent such an evolution that only the brusque image of his own scientific death seemed appropriate ? To be more exact: I would like to know what happened *before* this break; before, for example, the publishing of *Contrapunteo del tabaco y el azúcar,* the epoch-making book in Latin-American scientific history – the book for which Bronislaw Malinowski wrote the preface (1940); the book which included the central topics of *desculturación / exculturación, transculturación* and, to complete this transitional process, *neoculturación,* which today are necessary components of any analysis concerning clashing cultures; the book which has left traces which can be seen both in Latin-American development sociology as well as in the works of Robert Merton and Talcott Parsons ?

Of course, this question can be treated within the framework of Ortiz' individual biography, and the critical literature existing up to this point on the topic used to do so.[3] Born in Cuba in 1881, Ortiz studied in Cuba and Spain and became a consular official of the new republic (Genoa, Marseille) before finally returning to Cuba. About 1915, he was a professor of political economy and constitutional law at the University of Havanna, a successful lawyer and legal adviser, a member of the parliament and liberal politician known for his social reform efforts, and an influential review editor and journalist. This mixture and overlapping of different functions and intellectual activities is not unusual but on the contrary, characteristic for a certain type of Latin-American *cultura liberal* of the time. Ortiz' increasing interests in ethnology, anthropology and linguistics, as well as in local and literary history, are in this sense yet another example of his encyclopedic scientific interests, which his Cuban (and not only Cuban) biographers used to emphasize with admiration.[4]

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[3]For biographical information, see Andrés IDUARTE, "Apreciación", in *Miscelánea [...],* op.cit., vol. ii, pp. 851- 857; the introductions by Julio LE RIVEREND, "Fernando Ortiz y su obra cubana" in the Ortiz Reader *Orbita de Fernando Ortiz,* La Habana 1973, and "Ortiz y sus contrapunteos", in F.O., *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar,* Caracas 1978 (Biblioteca Ayacucho); Salvador BUENO, "Aproximaciones a la vida y la obra de F.O.", in *Casa de las Américas* 1979, No. 113, pp. 119- 128. Indespensable for anyone dealing with the life and work of Ortiz is the *Bio-Bibliografía de Don F.O.,* compiled by Araceli García Carranza, La Habana 1970 (Biblioteca Nacional José Martí), which contains a complete list of Ortiz' publications in books and reviews, as well as a chronology of his life.

[4]Cf. for example LE RIVEREND in the introduction to *Orbita,* op.cit., p.19: "El enciclopedismo fue una característica de su actividad desde el inicio".–

Ortiz is, then, an exponent of a comprehensive, but at the same time typically late colonial and pre-capitalistic erudition.

It is much more interesting, however, to place Ortiz' considerations and the shift in his scientific interests within the general framework of Cuban history. The problem can then also be phrased in another way: If we wish to identify manifestations of alternative cultures – and conceptions such as *transculturación* do not point to anything else than to the contact and conflict of cultures – another question is necessarily implied, namely: alternative to what? The answer usually amounts to the following: Alternative to the dominant structures of cultural production, generally meaning alternative to, depending on which epoch, the ruling upper or middle classes. What if, however, it is precisely this dominant social class which is in the midst of fundamental radical change, as it is the case in Cuba after 1898?

Analyzing 'alternative cultures' then means above all, to illuminate their non-European specific elements, i.e., their *cubanidad.* By means of a scientific and intellectual history case-study, so to speak, I will attempt to expose some decisive elements for an archeology of the analysis of this 'alternative culture', for which Ortiz coined the term *afro-cubano.*

"Los negros brujos" and the fight against delinquency

From this perspective, if one considers Ortiz' earliest anthropological publication, *Los negros brujos,* from 1906, it is immediately apparent which scientific theories and political convictions are behind this investigation.

When Ortiz speaks of Blacks in Cuba, he does not do it in a scientifically neutral way, but means, above all, a segment of the Cuban population which is underprivileged and insufficiently integrated socially – a population, as with other disadvantaged groups, must be *assisted* in order to be able to contribute to the *progreso moral de nuestra sociedad.* The detailed description of anthropological phenomena such as superstition among the Black population, and the practice of witchcraft by the

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With respect to the non-Cuban bibliography on "Mr. Cuba" (Lino Novás Calvo, 1950) reference should be made in particular to Antonio MELIS, "Il percorso di Fernando Ortiz nella definizione della cultura cubana", in *Nuova Americana* (Torino) 1980, No. 3, pp. 13-39 and "Fernando Ortiz y el mundo afrocubano: desde la criminología lombrosiana hasta el concepto de transculturación", in *Cuba: Geschichte – Wirtschaft – Kultur* (ed. by Titus Heydenreich), Munich 1987 (= Lateinamerika-Studien, 23), pp. 169-181; as well as to Gustavo PEREZ FIRMAT, *The Cuban Condition. Translation and Identity in Modern Cuban Literature,* Cambridge 1989 (Cambridge Studies in Latin American and Iberian Literature, 1), pp.16-66.

brujos obviously serves a clearly formulated, enlightening purpose. It is demonstrated in the preface of the book, wherein expressly the *observación positivista* of something – that is, merely the *knowledge* of it –, is directly coupled with the inevitable progress of the *población negra* which results:

> La observación positivista de las clases desheredadas en tal o cual aspecto de la vida, y los factores que le impiden un más rápido escalamiento de los estratos superiores, *forzosamente ha de producir el efecto benéfico de apresurar su redención.*[5]

Ortiz' early journal publications also emerge out of this basic position. Some of them appear in 1913 in *Entre cubanos. Psicología tropical,* a stimulating book published in Spanish in Paris and, therefore, virtually impossible to find outside of the Bibliothèque Nationale until its republication in 1987.[6] Unamuno, at this time in correspondence with Ortiz, wrote the foreword.[7] Out of the desire for national integration, moving toward social progress which is to include the underprivileged classes, too, comes the need to eliminate hindering, backwards-oriented phenomena such as the belief in miracles held by the Blacks.

It is indeed amazing to see the epithets which Ortiz – Ortiz, the founder of Latin-American ethnography! – imposed upon the *brujería* and how strongly the African heritage, in the sense which Lévy-Bruhl a short time later called the *âme primitive et prélogique,* was rejected in this first stage. The *brujería,* according to Ortiz' summary, is

> un obstáculo a la civilización, principalmente de la población de color, ya por ser la expresión más bárbara del sentimiento religioso desprovisto del elemento moral;[8]

it is supposedly "socialmente negativo", because it keeps the ignorant Blacks, "dada la primitividad que le es característica", "en los bajos fondos de la barbarie africana"[9] and in an impressive crescendo, Ortiz then describes the social character of the *brujos:*

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[5] Fernando ORTIZ, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros brujos* (ed. Alberto N. Pamies), Miami 1973 (Ebano y Canela, 2), "Advertencias" (my italics).

[6] Ediciones Ciencias Sociales, La Habana. For the context of the first edition, cf. Jean François BOTREL, *La 'Sociedad de ediciones literarias y artísticas – librería Paul Ollendorff'. Contribution à l'étude de l'édition en langue espagnole à Paris au début du XXème siècle,* Talence 1970; according to this study, Ortiz' text appeared in September 1913 in 1650 copies.

[7] The text is not included in the reedition; see therefore Miguel de UNAMUNO, *Obras completas,* Madrid 1966, vol. iii, pp. 982-986. Ortiz' letters to Unamuno (seven pieces, written between 1906 and 1911) can be consulted in the *Casa-Museo Unamuno* in Salamanca, Spain; the letters by Unamuno seem to be lost.

[8] ORTIZ, op. cit., p. 229.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 227.

> Casi siempre delincuentes, estafador continuo, ladrón a menudo, violador y asesino en algunos casos, profanador de sepulcros cuando puede. Lujurioso hasta la más salvatica corrupción sexual, concubinario y polígamo, lascivo en las prácticas del culto y fuera de ellas, y formentador de la prostitución ajena,

in short: "un verdadero parásito social" and "uno de los tipos más repugnantes y dañinos de la mala vida cubana".[10]

With that, the fatal expression was uttered. That which Ortiz actually intended to do was not, before the mid-1920s, to record the means of expression of an alternative culture – namely, that of former Black slaves in contrast to the culture of the white and mulatto-dominated upper and newly-forming middle classes – but much more to record the forms of Cuban delinquency. In the first chapter of his study, Ortiz says in this context that the *mala vida* as the *vida honrada* is indeed of a more or less equivalent nature in all the big cities of America and Europe. The determinants of Cuban delinquency, however, are *especialmente antropológicos:*

> En todas [= las grandes ciudades civilizadas] se descubren las mismas llagas de la mendicidad, en todas la repugnante gama de vicios sexuales se muestra completa, en todas la delincuencia habitual adopta formas parecidas. Dada la semejanza de los componentes sociales de las grandes poblaciones, no podía suceder diversamente. [...] En cambio, entre los factores que han contribuido a fijar los caracteres de la mala vida en Cuba hay algunos que no se encuentran en las sociedades comúnmente estudiadas [...] *La observación de la composición étnica* de la sociedad cubana, tan diversa de las europeas, basta para poner de manifiesto las diferencias que han de acentuarse en la mala vida de Cuba con relación a la de los demás países.[11]

In the subtitle of *Los Negros brujos,* Ortiz indicated this with the expression "Apuntes para un estudio de *Etnología Criminal".* And this is why the investigator, to get information about the Cuban *mala vida,* has to do *anthropological research.*

The influence of Cesare Lombroso

The significance of that in practice, the difficulty involved in obtaining materials and the distrust he suffered as a result – from the whites as well

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 229.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 9 f. (my italics).

as the Blacks – are discussed by Ortiz in an autobiographical sketch in 1942.[12] In our context, however, the theoretical aspect is more significant.

It is known that the early works of Fernando Ortiz showed a considerable influence of the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso; Julio Le Riverend and later Antonio Melis refer to this several times in their studies on Ortiz.[13] Therefore, it is no coincidence that Ortiz prefaced his *Negro brujo* study with a friendly (though basically meaningless) letter from Lombroso, in the form of a *cartaprólogo*. Already in his juridical dissertation in civil law compensation for criminal offenses, Ortiz intended to conduct a sociological study and quoted Lombroso several times as his major theoretical reference.[14] Virtually unknown remains, however, the concrete form in which Lombroso's thought influenced Ortiz' work and the degree to which his early publications are integrated in a very diverse all–European discussion. With his "nuova scuola penale", Lombroso vehemently attempted to give weight to the subjective factor in crime, that is, above all, no longer to see criminals as those who deviate from moral norms of their own free will, having malicious intent, as 'classical' criminologists believed, but rather to take the psychological aspects, cultural factors, upbringing, the milieu of the criminal's background, etc. into consideration. In other words, he proposed to consider crime essentially as being a product of society.

It is easy to see that, up to this point, Lombroso's opinions still have considerable influence today or that they coincide with today's understanding. What seems curious (and in light of the 'anthropological' experiments of the German National Socialists, downright dangerous) to us today is the characteristic positivistic roots from which Lombroso tried to evolve his basic ideas into a criminal typology. He tried, namely, to use the statistically derived observation that Italian criminals at that time (supposedly) showed increased physical, anatomical or functional disorders in order to prove a causal connection to their criminal activities. Especially in his work *L'uomo delinquente* (^{1}1876, ^{2}1889), Lombroso

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[12]Cf. "Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros", in *Los mejores ensayistas cubanos*, ed. by Salvador Bueno, La Habana 1960, pp. 37-51; reprinted in *Orbita de Fernando Ortiz*, op.cit., pp. 181-191. Here Ortiz says among other things, "Para los blancos aquel libro sobre las religiones de los negros no era un estudio descriptivo, sino lectura pintoresca, a veces divertida y hasta con puntos de choteo. A los negros les pareció un trabajo exprofeso contra ellos, pues descubría secretos muy tapados".

[13]Cf. notes 3 and 4.

[14]*Base para un estudio sobre la llamada reparación civil. Memoria para optar al grado de Doctor en Derecho*, Madrid 1901. The Library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin owns a copy of the dissertation, which are extremely rare, this copy including a dedication to Quesada.

wanted to prove the correlation between delinquency and characteristics such as language, gestures or facial expression and emphasized the three criteria of tattoo, inclination to suicide and hand–writing.[15]

It would lead us too far off the track to go into Lombroso's theories in detail, describing their development and the bitter discussion that ensued; I would like to limit myself to a review of the dissension which existed within the different lines of argumentation. Lombroso draws some dubious conclusions in his experiment on typifying the *uomo delinquente,* such as drawing up a "physiognomy of a criminal". Anarchists, for example, can supposedly be unmistikably recognized by their "naturally big ears". He analyzes psychological aspects, such as the propensity toward being aroused, as well as physical characteristics, such as head and ear shapes, tattoos, etc., as "criminogenic factors", and he refers to criminals neologistically as *mattoide* (one verging on insanity). This basically leads to declaring crime a specific form of mental illness. These considerations, however, stand in contrast to Lombroso's opinion which holds that social impulses function as the motivating force in regards to crime.

Consequently, Lombroso draws another conclusion than one could gather: when he speaks of born criminals, he doesn't propose to lock them up without much ado. On the contrary: In attempting to expose the social conditions of the delinquency, he demands that an enlightened society must better itself such that crime ceases to exist. Social intervention, however, requires exact knowledge of the crime-triggering factors, and that demands exact observation and description – a practice offering a direct (and obvious) analogy to ethnography.

This is the point where Fernando Ortiz begins his analysis. When he observes, as I quoted earlier, that the *brujo* practices virtually all major categories of crime – from fraud to corpse desecration and the promotion of prostitution – Ortiz' demand is by no means for arrest and incarceration. Much more, Ortiz, like Lombroso, is consistent in looking for the subjective factor in crime. His answer, based on precise observation, is that the *brujo,* with few exceptions, *believes* in what s/he does and is convinced that it serves to accomplish what is right and socially worthwhile. That is why Ortiz demands the elimination of the social conditions

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[15]For a critical discussion of Lombroso's theories in the last few years, cf. the Proceedings of a French conference, puublished as *Le centenaire de la publication de 'L'uomo delinquente' (1876) de Lombroso,* Paris 1977; as well as Umberto Leva (editor), *La scienza e la colpa. Crimini – criminali – criminologi: un volto dell'Ottocento,* Milano 1985 (Catalogue of an exhibition Torino, Mole Antonelliana), especially the articles by Giacomo Canepa, "Criminologia e antropologia criminale. Origini e sviluppo storico" (*ibid.,* pp. 89-98) and by Virginio Oddone, "La 'scuola' lombrosiana" (*ibid.,* pp. 239-241).

which make the belief in miracles and witchcraft possible, and it becomes obvious how criminological analysis and social reform are intertwined.

Now we understand what Ortiz' intentions were, when, in 1905/06, he published three articles in Lombrosos's journal *Archivio di psichiatria, scienze penali ed antropologia criminale.*

The first of these was printed in 1905 and had the following comment on its title page:

> L'onorevole Ortiz, già cancelliere del Consolato Cubano, ci regala qui un saggio di un suo forte lavoro *sulla criminalità cubana.*[16]

In this article on the crime rate among Blacks in Cuba, Ortiz refers to the statistically more widespread delinquency among free Blacks as compared to slaves. He shows that ethnic background and the committing of crimes can indeed be correlated in terms of turn-of-the-century Cuba, which of course has nothing to do which ethnic inclination to crime, but supports his idea of Blacks being the most underprivileged segment of the population.

In the second article, published in 1906, Ortiz expanded his observations to the criminogenic factors of superstition[17] and, in the final article of the series, to the problem of *suicide,* the means by which, above all, Black slaves withdrew from the social conditions of the plantation economy.[18] This was a problem that must have especially interested Lombroso, because, in his theory, the tendency toward suicide represents an especially convincing correlate of atavism, namely, the will to resign oneself to a given social situation rather than striving to better it.

Ortiz examines the forms of suicide most common among Blacks, i.e. hanging and poisoning. He then discusses them within the context of a desire to be released from unbearable social conditions, including especially the belief in being reborn in Africa after committing suicide. Ortiz interprets his findings as a characteristic example of the influence of ethnicity on the rate of criminality.

Although no biographical studies up to this point mention the fact, somewhat later, following Lombroso's death, Ortiz worked again on Lombroso's *Archivio.* In 1914, he published in it an article on the ancient origins of the determination of human identity using dactyloscopy.[19] The

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[16] Fernando ORTIZ, "La criminalità dei negri in Cuba", in *Archivio di psichiatria, scienze penali ed antropologia criminale,* Terza serie 2 [= 26] (1905), pp. 594-600.

[17] "Superstizioni criminose in Cuba", in *Archivio [...]* 27 (1906), pp. 281-287.

[18] "Il suicidio fra i negri", in *Archivio [...] 27* (1906), pp. 621-623.

[19] "Le origine antiche della dattiloscopia", in *Archivio [...]* 35 (1914), pp. 45-49.– Cf. also Ortiz' early articles on Lombroso and his work, "El fundador de

first Latin American handbook of fingerprint analysis was also written by Ortiz and had been published in Havanna one year before.[20]

The international context

When one reads Fernando Ortiz' early works in context, it is obvious that criminological observation for the purpose of social reforms leads to a preliminary stage of anthropology.

With such a relatively well-developed aid as that mentioned in the quote at the beginning of this article, "il diritto chiamato penale", Ortiz scientifically attempts to grasp the *alterity* and *different quality* of the alternative culture of the former slaves as opposed to the dominant white culture. In his early works, a 'normal' average society is conceived of, which has deviants who are nevertheless interpreted as being integral parts of that society; the 'alternative culture' is a level of culture which has not yet reached its peak, so to speak, which, however, can and should be incorporated into the national project upon achieving a so-called improved form.

It is also important to show how entrenched Fernando Ortiz was in a European context in his considerations on crimes of the *brujería.*

During this time period, other studies appeared, which, based on very different cities and regions, all attempted to describe their respective *mala vida.* In this sense, *Los negros brujos* is not the first analysis of comparable phenomena; a year earlier, a study on the Evil Eye had already appeared: *La fascinación en España: Brujas - Brujerías - Amuletos,* written by the famous criminal lawyer Rafael Salillas, who was also influenced by Lombroso. In 1898, the study on 'criminogenic' content in picaresque novels came out, from which Ortiz even borrowed the main title for his planned collection of a total of six investigations, namely, *Hampa,* the rather uncommon Spanish word meaning, according to Salillas, the "género de vida" of the "gitanos, ladrones y rufianes".[21] At the

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una ciencia: César Lombroso", in *Cuba y América* 21 (1906), No. 5, pp. 70-71; "César Lombroso", in *Derecho y Sociología* [La Habana] 1 (1906), No. 4, pp. 9-16 and No. 5, pp. 91-96; "El Museo de Lombroso", in *El Fígaro,* 1906, No. 22, pp. 282-293; as well as Ortiz' obituary notice, "César Lombroso", in *Cuba y América* 30 (1909), No. 4, pp. 19-24.

[20] *La identificación dactiloscópica: informe de Policiología y de Derecho Público.* Seguido de las Instrucciones técnicas para la práctica de la identificación y del Decreto orgánico No. 1173 de 1911, La Habana 1913.

[21] Rafael SALILLAS, *El delincuente español: Hampa. Antropología picaresca,* Madrid 1898; the volume is dedicated to the memory of Mateo Alemán, born in 1547 (!).

same time or only a few years later, comparable studies appeared on the contemporary *mala vida* of Barcelona, Madrid and Asturias.[22]

The situation was similiar throughout the rest of Europe. As early as the 1890s, in the journal *Zeitschrift für das gesamte Strafrechtswesen,* edited by the well-known jurist Franz von Liszt, a study was published on the *mala vida* of Berlin; detailed Italian studies on the same phenomenon also appeared on, above all, Naples, but also on Rome.

Shortly following the publication of Ortiz' works, the most important book for the entire subsequent discussion in Latin America appeared on the topic: *La mala vida en Buenos Aires* (1908), by Eusebio Gómez dealing specifically with the relationship between *immigrants* and crime. And at the turn of the century, two journals tried to spread the Lombroso school of thought in Argentina: the *Criminología moderna,* published between 1898 and 1900, and the *Archivos de psiquiatria, criminología y ciencias afines,* published from 1902 to 1913.[23] The journey to Latin America, in 1907/08, marked the zenith of Lombroso's influence:

> Fu un delirio, una frenesia. Ventimila, trentamila Italiani erano venuti ad incontrarci. Ci aspettavano da parecchie ore sul grande piazzale della stazione, nelle vie adiacenti. Ciascuno di noi fu sollevato di peso, collocato in grandi carozze della Stato in mezzo alla folla urlante che ci copriva di fiori, che evvivava in noi tutto quanto ricordavamo da loro dell'Italia, le città, gli eroi patrii, la scienza, le glorie antiche, le glorie moderne, i nomi più cari a loro, i nomi più cari a noi, il nome sopratutto di Cesare Lombroso.[...] Nell'America Meridionale dappertutto la legislazione è stata modificata in base alle teorie di mio padre, ed il nome di Lombroso è diventato perciò familiare fra

[22]Cf. Manuel GIL MAESTRE, *La criminalidad en Barcelona y en las grandes poblaciones,* Barcelona 1886, and *Los malhechores de Madrid,* Gerona 1889; Manuel JIMENO AZCARATE, *Criminalidad en Asturias,* Oviedo 1900.

[23]Concerning the relationship between the structure of crime and the criminological discourse in the turn-of-the-century Argentina, cf. the studies launched in the 1980s: Julia KIRK / Lyman JOHNSON, "Changing Criminal Patterns in Buenos Aires, 1890-1914", in *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14 (1982), pp. 359-379; and "Estadística criminal y acción policial en Buenos Aires, 1887-1914", in *Desarrollo económico* 24 (1984), No.93, pp. 109-122; Eugenia SCARZANELLA, "El 'lunfardo' en el gabinete del doctor Lombroso: La antropología criminal en la Argentina, 1898-1913", in Antonio ANNINO et al. (eds.), *America Latina dallo stato coloniale allo stato nazione, 1750-1940* [Proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos], Milano 1987, vol. ii, pp. 886-897.

quella gente come quello di Garibaldi e di Mazzini, gli altri
Dei protettori del nome d'Italia.[24]

In contrast to the discussion which developed there, and which remained entirely within the sphere of crime prevention, in Ortiz' work, the observation of facts acquired the sense of being a field of its own. This doesn't exclude the criminological aspect – in fact, as already said, Ortiz was responsible for the first Latin American handbook on the analysis of fingerprints – but it does require a clear differentiation of its subjects.

Detached observation, as is required by positivism, can lead to findings differing from those which were originally sought. Ortiz suddenly realized that an examination of the *cultura negra* would by no means be limited to the study of potential criminality, but also incorporated the study of an entire culture having diverse forms of expression, even if these deviated from the dominant white culture.

Starting at this time, Ortiz systematically *collected* material to study. His comprehensive archive, which is part of the collection of his unpublished scientific works now located in the Cuban Academy of Sciences, consists of exactly one hundered *epígrafes,* from "América-España" to "Arqueología", "Arte Negro", and "Carneval" up to "Zapata".[25] Under the heading "Arte Negro" there are a number of photographs in *carpeta* 21, in addition to newspaper articles and an evaluation of the *New York Times Magazine* from 1926 to 1930 which was apparently, at least for some period of time, carried out systematically. Under "Brujos, Santería", there is considerable material on Haiti and the Voodoo, and there is a compelet 101-page type-written manuscript entitled "Baile y teatro español" under "Baile". The category "Colón" includes a collection of a total of 207 bibliographical references.

This clearly shows how Ortiz' interest in criminology was already gradually losing ground and being replaced by an ethnographic interest.

Only with his conception of *transculturación,* however, embedded within the framework of a theory of social change, Ortiz could finally better grasp "real" anthropology, his "new" subject. And at this point in the mid 1930s, the "old" Ortiz and his interest in the science of the *diritto chiamato penale* died their final death.

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[24]Gina LOMBROSO-FERRERO, *Nell' America Meridionale (Brasile – Uruguay – Argentina),* Milano 1908, pp. 35 seq. (about the reception in São Paulo).

[25]For a general view, cf. Oreste Gárciga, "El archivo de Fernando Ortiz. Acerca de su estructuración metodológica y fin práctico", in *Santiago,* 1985, No.58, pp. 63- 83.– Grateful acknowledgement is made to José Portuondo, the former President of the Academy of Science, for his permission to consult the *Fondo Ortiz* in autumn 1988, and to Diana Iznaga for her help and advice.

'PERIPHERAL' CULTURE IN THE METROPOLIS: WEST INDIANS IN NEW YORK CITY

Remco van Capelleveen (Berlin)

Migration movements have been an inherent element of Caribbean life for at least 500 years.[1] In a way, the societies of the Caribbean are themselves the product of migration movements. These migration movements began with the so-called "discovery" and settlement by European seafarers. They continued with the forced and brutal resettlement and enslavement of African peoples as labor force for the colonial plantation economies in the "New World" and, after the abolition of slavery, the migration within the Caribbean region and to the Central American isthmus; and they have culminated in the massive emigration to the industrial metropoles after World War II – first to the United Kingdom and, since the late sixties, increasingly to the United States and Canada.[2] This long- standing tradition of migration movements to and from the

[1]The term "West Indian" refers to the inhabitants of the English-speaking Caribbean islands, the mainland territories of Guyana and Belize, as well as the English-speaking Afro-creole enclaves en the predominantly Hispanic Caribbean countries along the East coast of Central America. The term "Afro-Caribbean" refers to the Anglophone, Francophone and Dutch-speaking (i.e. the "non-Hispanic") regions of the Caribbean. The "Afro-Caribbean" societies share certain similarities which distinguish them from the "Hispanic Caribbean": the historically perpetual dominance of a plantation economy, a population overwhelmingly of African descent (with the exceptions of Guyana and Trinidad), and an Afro-creolized folk culture distinct and separated from that of the Euro-creole dominant classes. The "Hispanic Caribbean", on the other hand, has been historically characterized by a more diversified settler economy onto which plantation slavery was later imposed; a greater mixing of peoples of Indian, African, and Spanish descent; and a more unified syncretized culture which is dominated by the Spanish tradition, into which, nenevertheless, African and Amerindian heritages have been synthesized (SUTTON 1987:16; HOETINK 1985). Since the number of immigrants from the Dutch-speaking and Francophone Caribbean in New York City, except for those from Haiti, is negligible, the Afro-Caribbean population of New York City consists essentially of immigrants from the Anglophone Caribbean and from Haiti. The following analysis refers, strictly speaking, to "West Indians" in New York City, that is migrants from the Anglophone Caribbean or what is known as the Commonwealth Caribbean. To a large degree, however, it is also valid for Haitian immigrants – thus the frequent use of the term "Afro-Caribbean".

[2]See MARSHALL 1987; PEACH 1986; BRYCE-LAPORTE 1972.

Caribbean region has been closely related to what the well-known Caribbean Political Scientist and Social Historian Gordon Lewis has called the "tenth commandment" for understanding the ethnic and colonial heritage of the Caribbean: "Caribbean peoples have always been, and still are, a massively uprooted people".[3]

Since the turn of the century, New York City, the immigrant city par excellence and the target of millions of (mostly European) immigrants in the past, has also become become "the promised land" for a growing number of immigrants from the Caribbean. According to the census, the foreign-born Black population in New York, of which the overwhelming majority had come from the Anglophone Caribbean, increased from 3,552 in 1900, to 12,581 in 1910, to 36,613 in 1920; in 1930 it was almost 58,000 or 25 per cent of Harlem's population.[4] Although the early migrants quicky became aware of American racism and of the fact that 'gold did not lay around in the streets' and also brought this to the attention of West Indians at home, New York City remained "the leading target and entrepot for Caribbean peoples to the United States";[5] it continued to be the symbol of opportunity, of fulfillment of the the immigrants' dreams, and of their determination to better themselves economically. "Everybody wanted to get to New York", wrote a West-Indian immigrant in the 1930s.[6] Or, as the Caribbean-American novelist Paule Marshall has so eloquently expressed it: "Like a dark sea nudging its way onto a white beach and staining the sand, they came."[7] However, it was not until the passing of the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 that Caribbean migration turned literally into a mass movement exceeding that of the previous 70 years and growing ever since.[8] More than half of all Caribbean immigrants and more than 70 per cent of all West Indian immigrants have settled in New York City. According to the 1980 census, there have been about 300,000 Afro-Caribbean immigrants in New York – more than four fifth of whom arrived after 1965.[9] Presently, the city has well over a million

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[3]Quoted from BACH p. 7; see also LEWIS 1983:2-18.

[4]U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS 1918:62; 1935:17; see also the pioneering study on West Indian immigration to the United States of Ira Augustine de REID 1939. The actual number of West Indians in New York was certainly higher for there has been evidence that "illegal" immigration was common at that time (cf. C.L.R. JAMES, *Minty Alley* (1936); Paule MARSHALL, *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (1959).

[5]BRYCE-LAPORTE 1979:215.

[6]Quoted form Calvin HOLDER 1987:9.

[7]MARSHALL 1959:4.

[8]VAN CAPELLEVEEN 1987; 1989; see also REIMERS 1985.

[9]U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS 1983:34-9, 34-14; NEW YORK DEPARTMENT OF CITY PLANNING 1985:1- 3; CARIBBEAN / AMERICAN MEDIA STUDIES (CAMS) 1986: vol. II, 15; see also Ellen Percy KRALY 1987.

Afro-Caribbean inhabitants including U.S.-born children of immigrants and so-called "illegals". New York City has become the city with the largest number of Afro-Caribbeans in the whole world, so to speak the metropolitan branch of the Caribbean archipelago.

The "Caribbeanization" of New York City

Whereas the early immigrants from the West Indies settled and merged with the 'native' Afro-American communities of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, the new Afro-Caribbean immigrants have primarily moved to neighborhoods in central Brooklyn (Crown Heights, East Flatbush, Flatbush) – and, to a lesser degree, in Southeast Queens (St.Albans, Cambria Heights, Springfield Gardens, Laurelton) – which experienced a substantial white flight during the 1970s. Because of the prevalence of small one– or two-family houses and corresponding high rates of owner occupancy, these neighborhoods did not suffer the kind of deterioration and destruction that followed the white exodus, for example, in the South Bronx. Moreover, the (until the mid 1970s) relative low cost of these houses and the legendary West Indian zest "to buy house"[10] contributed not only to the maintenance and preservation of neighborhoods which would otherwise have deteriorated but also to an open demonstration of and pride in the "West Indianess" of the community.

Interestingly, the new West Indian immigrants have not separated from each other according to national or insular origin.[11] They just moved away, wherever possible, from Latinos and Black U.S.–Americans; as well as from white New Yorkers, which, of course, has been due less to subjective preferences but to the widespread existence of white racism.[12]

The massive presence of the new Afro-Caribbean immigrants has lead to what has been dubbed "Caribbeanization" of New York City. This "Caribbeanization" has shown, on the one hand, in the recent transformation of the metropolitan economy.[13] On the other, it has been expressed in an infusion of Caribbean life styles and culture into the social fabric of the city. Caribbean neighborhoods have offered to the newcomer not only protection and support and a piece of home 'far from home' but they have

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[10]See Paule MARSHALL, *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, op. cit.

[11]The history of colonialism has lead to a specific fragmentation of the Caribbean region and produced the well–known trait of "insularity" which is still part of Caribbean consciousness today (see LOWENTHAL 1984; MOYA-PONS 1979.

[12]For the fundamental role of white racism and 'white supremacy' in American society see VAN CAPELLEVEEN 1988; 1991.

[13]See VAN CAPELLEVEEN 1990, particularly chap. 6; 1987: 262-268.

increasingly developed into the center of an international Afro-Caribbean culture. Neighborhood institutions such as churches, schools, and day cares, as well as street corners (as informal meeting places) have taken on decidedly Afro-Caribbean characteristics. West Indian and Haitian groceries, bakeries, and restaurants, which exclusively sell food and meals from the Caribbean, barber shops and beauty salons as places of social gatherings, record stores with their calypso, soca, and reggae sounds, and, most of all, the presence of Afro-Caribbean people in the streets, including the obligatory Rastas and domino players, have created an atmosphere that has turned central Brooklyn, perceptibly by the senses, into the 'periphery within the metropole'. As the already quoted West Indian-American novelist Paule Marshall has so vividly described it:

> Whenever I [...] walk along Fulton Street or Nostrand Avenue, [...] I have to remind myself that I'm in Brooklyn and not in the middle of a teeming outdoor market in St. George's, Grenada, or Kingston, Jamaica, or on some other West Indian island. Because there, suddenly, are all the sights and sounds, colors, smells, and textures of the entire Caribbean archipelago, transplanted intact to the sidewalks of New York.[14]

This "Caribbeanization" of New York City can also be seen in the sphere of music, theatre and intellectual life. Institutions such as the Caribbean Cultural Center, the Caribbean Research Center at Medgar Evers College, or the C.U.N.Y. Asociation of Caribbean Studies and its (1985 published) journal *Cimarron* tell of the enormous expansion of artistic and scholarly interest in the Caribbean.

Another sign of this "Caribbeanization" is the development of a West Indian community press in New York City. The weekly newspaper *New York Carib News* and the monthly magazine *Everybody's,* for example, report in great detail about events in the Caribbean as well as events and problems in New York City which are relevant to the Afro-Caribbean community. Performing as the "voice of the Caribbean-American community" they are widely circulated and read by many of the immigrants. Even newspapers that serve the Afro-American community as a whole, such as the *Daily Challenge,* have given prominent space to Caribbean news and have not tried to hide the West Indian background of its editors.[15] Moreover, there are at least three radio stations (WLIB-AM 1190, WNYE-FM/Medgar Evers College 91.5, WNWK-FM 105.9) which

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[14]MARSHALL 1985:67.

[15]In the 1930s, West Indian immigrants owned most of the Afro-American press, notably the leading Black weekly in New York City, the *New York Amsterdam News.* However, this could not be discovered by reading any of these newspapers. Correspondingly, there has never been a succesful explicitly ethnic West Indian community newspaper in the past (KASINITZ 1987:52-53).

feature, particularly on the weekends, exclusively West Indian music and informations.

Immigrants from the entire Anglophone Caribbean as well as from Haiti live in the same neighborhoods and interact and communicate in their daily lives. As a result, the migration experience has strengthened a collective West Indian and Afro-Caribbean ethnicity and culture; and not the recourse to national and insular origin. People who had little contact with each other before migrating to New York have been (and still are) brought together spacially and socially in New York City developing an Afro-Caribbean collective identity. It is the migration process and the concentration of people from different Caribbean countries in New York City that have generated a comprehensive West Indian or Afro-Caribbean ethnicity and culture, a comprehensive Afro-Caribbean consciousness, which has overcome, to a large degree, the traditional insular and national barriers. The West Indian Federation might have failed in the Caribbean; it has been increasingly succesful in New York City.[16]

The West Indian Carnival in Brooklyn

The existence and importance of such an international Afro-Caribbean ethnicity and culture has been most clearly demonstrated in *the* Afro-Caribbean event in New York, the West Indian Carnival which takes place every year during and before the Labor Day weekend in Brooklyn. Almost completely ignored by non-Caribbean New Yorkers and the non-Caribbean press, the "West Indian American Day Carnival" (as it is officially called) features several nights of concerts, steel band and calypso contests, and children's pageants on the grounds of the Brooklyn Museum, culminating on Labor Day in a massive street procession on Eastern Parkway with tens of thousands of masqueraders and musicians and hundreds of thousands – during the last years more than a million – of reveling and participating spectators. These 'official' events are accompanied by dozens of commercially and privately organized shows, dances, festivities, and parties in West Indian neighborhoods around the city. During Labor Day weekend the West Indian population of Brooklyn doubles. West Indians have been coming from near New York suburbs and neighboring New Jersey and from as far as Florida or California, from all parts of Canada, and even from the Caribbean and England to spend the West Indian Carnival with relatives and friends in Brooklyn.

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[16]VAN CAPELLEVEEN 1990; KASINITZ 1988; see also LEWIS 1982. Moreover, the new forms of Afro-Caribbean consciousness have been relayed back to the Caribbean (SUTTON / MAKIESKY 1987:106-112).

The West Indian Carnival in New York City dates back to the 1920s when 'homesick' Trinidadian an Eastern Caribbean immigrants organized masquerades, steelband and calypso contests in large ballrooms in Harlem such as the Rennaissance and the St. Nicholas Arena. As in the Caribbean, Carnival was celebrated in the middle of winter, on the weekend preceding Ash Wednesday. When the crowds started to regularly outdo the indoor facilities, the time had come to move Carnival outdoors. In 1947, the first street Carnival was held on Seventh Avenue in the heart of Black Harlem and, because of the cold winter weather in New York, moved to Labor Day at the beginning of September. The Harlem street Carnival was celebrated every year until it was prohibited in 1964 after some "disturbances" occured during the parade. Because the majority of West Indian immigrants began to settle in Brooklyn in the mid and late 1960s, Carnival was moved to the borough by Rufus Gorin, a Trinidad-born band leader and die-hard "mas man".[17] Due to its bad reputation following the "disturbances" in the past, Carnival was held for several years in small side streets as block parties. In 1969, Gorin's successor, Carlos Lezama, who still organizes today's Carnival, obtained an official permission from the city to celebrate Carnival on Eastern Parkway, a wide boulevard that runs through the center of Brooklyn's Afro-American neighborhoods. Despite repeated "disturbances" and "outbreaks of violence" as well as several attempts to give Carnival more "respectability" and "professionality" by moving it to Fifth Avenue in Manhatta,[18] the West Indian Carnival continued to be held in Brooklyn and developed into the largest ethnic and cultural spectacle in North America.[19]

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[17] "Mas" is the West Indian term for masquerade or costumed revelers. "Playing mas" means to participate in a "mas band". See also footnote 20.

[18] In 1982, for example, an attempt to mount a more "respectable" and "professional" Carnival in Manhattan by a group of West Indian businessmen failed badly (see HALL 1982).

[19] There are several other West Indian Carnival festivals celebrated by West Indian communities in the diaspora: the Notting Hill Carnival in London which is known for its notorious "rioting" and political conflicts expressing the grievances of Britain's Black population with white British society; the Boston Carnival refered to as "the one before the big one" (because it is held a few weeks before the Brooklyn Carnival); the Hartfort Carnival held at the end of "West Indian Week in Hartfort", Connecticut – "a typical small town American parade" and thus rather different from most other West Indian Carnivals (HILL 1978:16); the Montreal Carnival which is held at the end of June and, for many West Indian immigrants in the United States and Canada, marks the start of the summer festival season; and the Toronto Carnival which is better known as "Caribana" and has drawn up to 500,000 spectators in 1985. Other attempts to organize a West Indian Carnival have been made in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Miami, and Baltimore. None of these 'exiled' Carnivals, however, has reached the scale

The most important components of Brooklyn Carnival – calypso music, steel bands, and mas bands, as well individual masquerades – have come out of the Carnival tradition in Trinidad.[20] Although the Brooklyn Carnival is still Trinidadian in its principal form, music and masquerades have changed over time. On the one hand, non-Trinidadian elements have increased; today not only calypso and soca is played – often from powerful sound systems mounted on trucks – but more and more ska and reggae from Jamaica, spouge from Barbados, and merengue from Haiti. On the other, traditional masquerade performances consisting of small groups and individuals have been replaced by large mas bands and more current performances, although in Brooklyn one can still see traditional masquerades such as the "Jab Molassi" or the "Moco Jumbie". These changes substantiate the "Caribbeanization" of the Brooklyn Carnival. Though still Trinidadian in form and organization, the Brooklyn Carnival has developed into a genuinely Pan-West Indian and Afro-Caribbean event subtly transforming traditional allegiances to specific islands and home countries into a new feeling of West Indian collectivity and solidarity. As the anthropologists Donald Hill and Robert Abramson have noted:

> Transplanted to Brooklyn, the great variety of dances seen in island performances has dwindled to two or three steps suitable for moving up Eastern Parkway in huge crowds. In New York City, the local villager has a new identity: he or she is not just an islander but a West Indian (Hill/Abramson 1979:83).

This new feeling of "West Indianness" has also been expressed in a 1976 calypso ("Mas in Brooklyn") by the Mighty Sparrow:

> You could be from St. Cleo or Jun Jun
> In New York all that done
> They haven't know who is who
> New York equalize you
> Bajan, Grenadian, Jamaican, tut mun [everybody]
> Drinking they rum

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and importance of the Brooklyn Labor Day Carnival which has regularly drawn more than a million spectators in the 1980s.

[20] A "mas band" (masquerade band) consists of a "King" and a "Queen" in highly sophisticated costumes, several other important characters (section leaders), and a larger number (sometimes several hundreds) of revelers in less elaborated costumes. All costumes of a mas band are carefully designed around a Carnival theme and fabricated in the month ahead of Carnival in the so-called "mas camps". Individual traditional masqueraders are, for example, the "Jab Molassi" (devil man) or the "Moco Jumbie" (stilt dancer). For the 'original' West Indian Carnival in Trinidad, see Ruth WÜST 1987, HILL 1985.

Beating they bottle and spoon
Nobody could watch me and honestly say
They don't like to be in Brooklyn on Labor Day
(*ibid.*, p.73).

The traditional Carnival's motto "all o' we is one", symbolizing the reversal and equalization of social hierarchies and differences, has taken on the new meaning of equalizing different national and insular origins. Instead of flags and symbols of national identity, the Brooklyn Carnival has displayed masquerades and costumes which have been turned into symbols of West Indian unity.[21]

As distinct from most other ethnic street festivals in the United States – even the other "Caribbean" event in New York City, the Puerto Rican Parade – the West Indian Carnival has lacked a centralized structure and leadership. "As a dramatic event, Carnival is strikingly leaderless", writes the New York sociologist Philip Kasinitz. "There are themes, a certain ebb and flow to the activity, but no particular center or head" (*ibid.*, p. 341). The official organizing committee, the West Indian American Day Carnival Association (WIADCA), does secure the permission for the Labor Day procession on Eastern Parkway and makes sure that the various conditions are met (e.g. sufficiant sanitary facilities). WIADCA also organizes the 'official' events such as the "Panorama Eliminations", the "Clash of the Calypso Giants", the "Reggae Night", and the "Kiddie's Carnival" on the Brooklyn Museum grounds.[22] The organization of the steel bands and mas bands, the endless rehersals in the mas camps, as well as the design and fabrication of the costumes, on the other hand, have all remained relatively uncoordinated and totally independent from the official organizers. At times there have been tensions between band leaders and WIADCA officials adding to the 'spontaneity' of the festival. However, the lack of a centralized structure and leadership has been particularly evident in the Carnival procession on Eastern Parkway itself.

The procession starts with the organizers of WIADCA, various dignataries, and the Grand Marshalls, mostly businessmen, politicians, or other community 'notabilities' marching down the Parkway. Nobody pays any attention to them; most people are not even aware of their presence. At this stage, the main 'action' is going on at the sidelines. There one meets friends and relatives from home or from other parts of the West Indian diaspora, eats curried goat, meat patties, or roti, drinks beer and rum punch, dances to the music from the sound systems which have been

[21] KASINITZ/FREIDENBERG-HERBSTEIN 1987:343.

[22] These have been, for example, the official Carnival events in 1984. They are held, more or less the same, every year. "Panorama" means a steelband competition.

installed everywhere, or simple browses through the displays of countless vendors. The sidelines of the entire Parkway have turned into a gigantic fleamarket where one can buy almost everything from straw hats made in the West Indies to the collected speeches of Maurice Bishop as well as delicacies from the entire Caribbean cuisine. With a delay of about half an hour the 'second act' begins: Cadillacs convertibles with the winners of a West Indian beauty contest, clothed in bathing suits, drive slowly down the Parkway. Like the dignitaries before, these young women, although a more delightful sight, are peripheral to the Carnival.

Then it takes another one or two hours, sometimes even longer, until the 'real' Carnival procession begins – with the brass and steel bands, the pretty and colorful mas bands, the devil-men and stilt- dancers, and the floats with the blasting sound systems. Even now, spectators are not behaving like regular spectators. Instead, they are intervening actively into the Carnival festival, "road march" (parade), "jump up" (dance), and "play mas" themselves and merge with the steel and mas bands, which, surrounded by a huge dancing and reveling mass of people, are hardly able to move down the Parkway. Sometimes they take spontaneously to the side streets where they mix again with reveling spectators. In addition, the devil-men, bands of nearly naked men, their bodies blackened, wearing devil horns and tails, generally move against the flow of the parade trying to scare spectators by taking their clothes and smearing them.

Usually, only some bands and floats eventually reach the reviewing stand at the Brooklyn Museum, where the organizers and dignitaries have been waiting in vain to inspect the Carnival parade which never made it down to the reviewing stand. However, nobody seems to mind. Only the organizers, the dignitaries, and the press have regularly complained about the "chaos" and the "disgrace" of the Carnival.[23] When the Carnival is officially over at 6 p.m.,[24] usually not even a third of the bands and floats has reached the reviewing stand. This official end of the Carnival procession is enforced by a martially looking police phalanx marching down Eastern Parkway. The bands and revelers withdraw into the side streets (not without little skirmishes with the police), where the Carnival continues until late in the night.

Politically, the Brooklyn Carnival has been used for voter registration and naturalization drives and to draw attention to the West Indian community as political clientèle. Moreover, local West Indian (and other New

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[23]A typical headline about the Carnival in *the West Indian* press reads: "Brooklyn's Caribbean Carnival: As Usual, A Disgrace" (*Everybody's*, October 1980, p. 34).

[24]This early end has been a result of Carnival "disturbances" in the past. Before 1979, Carnival lasted officially until 11 p.m.

York) politicians have tried to establish themselves as mediators of the West Indian community as an ethnic minority – in a way following the New York tradition of white ethnic political mobilization. However, the 'anarchic' nature of the Brooklyn Carnival and its general mocking of hierarchies and authorities "tends to undermine both its own organizers and the political officials from whom recognition is sought".[25] Instead of creating ethnic political leaders, the West Indian Carnival in Brooklyn symbolizes and asserts a Pan-West Indian and Afro-Caribbean identity and collectivity at 'the grass- roots'.

Like other cultural events, Carnival is a highly contested terrain, determined by different interests and social forces. According to the anthropologist Abner Cohen, Carnival generates a "potentiality for political articulation, serving in some situations as 'rituals of rebellion', whose function is cathartic and is ultimately a mechanism helping in the maintenance of the established order; and in other situations as expressions of resistance, protest, and violence."[26] At the same time, this dialectical character of Carnival is hidden by its formal definition and by popular ideas about it: Carnival is regarded as a festival characterized by reveling, playfulness, and overindulgence in eating, drinking, and sex, culminating in massive street processions by individual and bands of masqueraders, playing and dancing ecstatically to the accompaniment of loud and cheerful music. Carnival's special attraction is that it allows for temporary release from the constraints of the social order enabling relationships even among strangers as well as usually forbidden excesses. In short, Carnival stands for sensuousness, freedom, merrymaking, expressivity, frivolity, and amity, even if it is only for a limited time period.[27]

The concrete historical reality of Carnival, of course, is more complex – and contradictory. Through most of its history, Carnival has been a period of ritualized role reversal and "lampooning liberty"[28] for the lower classes. In Trinidad, where it was brought by French colonialists but, after Emancipation, appropriated and transformed by the freed slaves to preserve African traditions and to oppose the ruling classes, Carnival developed into a "symbol of freedom for the broad mass of the population".[29] Carnival has to be understood as an instable and precarious balance of compromise between contradictory forces and potentialities, between consensus and conflict, control and spontaneity, compliance and subversion. Both elements are present in Carnival, at one and the same time as well as

[25]KASINITZ/FREIDENBERG-HERBSTEIN 1987:343.
[26]COHEN 1982:24.
[27]*Ibid.*, p. 34.
[28]Victor TURNER 1983:190.
[29]HILL 1972:24; see also WÜST 1987.

within an (ambiguous) unity of form. If Carnival's precarious balance is seriously disturbed by swinging to either side of the contradictory ambiguity – turning, for example, into an affirmative political rally of the type staged under totalitarian systems or, more likely, by expressing explicit militant political opposition to the existing social and political order –, the nature of Carnival "is changed and [...] ceases to be a Carnival".[30]

In the case of the Brooklyn Carnival, both the "chaos" and the appearance of concentrated police power point to its potentially explosive character. As particularly the "riots" during the West Indian Carnival in London in the past have shown,[31] Carnival can be an accurate gauge of social deprivation as well as of potential for resistance by the immigrants in the 'host society'. Because West Indians' traditional suspicion of authority,[32] which has carried over into (the "chaos" of) Carnival, tends to undermine organized political mobilization, the "ritualized resistance"[33] to the social order, playfully displayed during Carnival celebration, bears the potential of turning into a rather non-ritualized, anarchist rebellion.

> At present, Carnival in Brooklyn is a huge party where guests indulge themselves with food, liquor, music, and camaraderie. But, in light of its history, Carnival's spectacle must be regarded as potential rebellion, the other face of communitas.[34]

While the Brooklyn Carnival symbolizes, on the one hand, the emergent ethnic-collective identity of the Afro-Caribbean community in New York City, it has exposed, on the other, the West Indian community's ambivalent relationship to U.S. Afro-Americans. Despite frequent emphasis on the necessity of Black unity and reference to the common history of slavery and racism of all Afro-Americans in the "New World", the immigration experience and Caribbean life in New York City has generated a form of collective identity which is defined in ethnic terms – in a way following the New York (and American) tradition of ethnic politics. This does not only imply a cultural distinction between Caribbean and U.S. Afro-Americans; it tends to contribute to their political division.[35] At the same time, West Indians have been regarded by white America, without distinction, as part of the Black community – defined on the basis

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[30]COHEN 1982:37.

[31]Cf. Abner COHEN 1980; Everton PRYCE 1985.

[32]This suspicion of (political) authorities and those in power, which is widespread among Caribbean people, has been generated by historical experience: the violent history of colonialism, slavery, and neocolonial dependency in the Caribbean.

[33]Angelita REYES, p.108.

[34]Donald HILL/Robert ABRAMSON 1979:85.

[35]Cf. KASINITZ 1988, chap. 8; GREEN/WILSON.

of racial classification, not ethnic and cultural affiliation.[36] Moreover, Caribbean and U.S. Afro-Americans are both exposed to racism and discrimination, social and political marginalization, which has considerably limited their options in American society. In fact, West Indian incorporation into Black America has been the only viable path to political and economic success in the past.[37] Therefore, it is not surprising that West Indians have remained ambiguous about their relationship with Black U.S.-Americans avoiding open dissociation from them. Instead, West Indian identity has been defined in cultural rather than explicitly political terms. Such a 'depoliticization' of collective West Indian identity has made possible the continuation of the ambivalent and contradictory relationship toward 'native' Afro-America allowing for both dissociation and solidarity depending on the concrete situation.

At the same time, the model of a Pan-West Indian identity has been challenged from within the Afro-Caribbean community. Younger West Indians, influenced by Rastafari, prefer a Pan-African model of identity which includes all peoples of African descent. Although this version of Pan-Africanism is internationalist in content and tends to address all Afro-Americans in the New World, it has done so in particular – i.e. Jamaican – form and on its own (more or less) restrictive terms.[38]

The new Afro-Caribbean immigrants have come to New York City, bringing with them a consciousness not of being "Black" but of their specific (insular) Caribbean origin. In New York City, this national or insular self-definition has been transformed into a comprehensive Afro-Caribbean identity and culture. Similar to their European predecessors, West Indian immigrants have developed an *ethnic* consciousness, although they have been less inclined toward assimilation. Because of American racism, most of them have kept alive the wish to return home, even if it has proved difficult to realize. In fact, the conservation of this dream to return home has become in itself a vehicle and expression of the immigrants' holding on to their West Indian ethnic identity. Moreover, the geographical closeness between the Caribbean and New York City has allowed for continuous 'commuting' of people, material resources, culture, lifestyles, and ideas to and from New York City contributing to the preservation of strong familial and cultural links to the Caribbean. At the same time, life in New York City has confronted Afro-Caribbean immigrants

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[36]See Remco van CAPELLEVEEN 1988:82-84. As a result of this racial classification by white America, the Afro-Caribbean immigrant has suffered a "double invisibility [...] as *blacks* and as *black foreigners*" (Roy BRYCE-LAPORTE 1972:31; see also Ralph Ellison's novel, *Invisible Man,* New York 1952).

[37]See Calvin HOLDER 1980.

[38]KASINITZ/FREIDENBERG-HERBSTEIN 1987:345.

with a racially divided society exposing them not only to racist discrimination but, worse, indiscriminately placing them behind a rigid "color line". While in the Caribbean shades of complexion matter and, for those who have it, money "whitens", in the United States Afro-Caribbeans are simply non-white and thus can never become part of the white *"Herrenvolk"* society.[39] The Afro-Caribbean response to this situation has been ambivalent. On the one hand, they have tried to avoid the 'inferior' status of U.S. American Blacks by insisting on their difference and stressing their "West Indianness". On the other, experience of widespread racism towards all people of color has generated an understanding of a common "Black fate" which might develop into a Pan African onsciousness. Such a comprehensive "Black consciousness", which tends to play down the differences between U.S. and Caribbean Afro-Americans, has particularly been expressed vis-à-vis white America.[40] Whatever forms of Black conciousness will come forth in the future, for the time being we do witness the "Caribbeanization" of New York City developing the increasing Afro-Caribbean community into an emerging cultural (and political) force that has already left its distinct marks on the city.

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[39]Van den Berghe has used the term "Herrenvolk democracy" for racially divided societies and "regimes such as those of the United States or South Africa that are democratic for the master race but tyrannical for the subordinate groups" (Pierre van den BERGHE 1967:18). The 'abolition' of Jim Crow and the passing of the Civil Rights legislation in the 1960s did not eliminate 'white supremacy' and racism in the United States (see footnote 12).

[40]Constance SUTTON/Susan MAKIESKY 1987:104-105.

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THE TRINIDAD CARNIVAL: A MEDIUM OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Ruth Wüst (Washington)

The Trinidad Carnival, "the greatest show on earth", as it is called by the people, is held annually during the prelenten season. The festival has undergone many changes since it was introduced by French planters at the end of the eighteenth century. With the participation of the Black population after emancipation in 1834, African traditions were adopted by the festivities. Over time the carnival's European and African customs have merged into a unique Trinidadian art form.

The three elements of carnival, the *mas,* i.e. the masquerade, the calypso, and the steelband are woven into a general network of festive activities which is subdivided into the pre-carnival events and the Monday and Tuesday carnival revelry beginning with the Sunday night Dimanche Gras Show. Several weeks before carnival culminates in the Tuesday parade, the great "bacchanal"[1] starts off with calypso concerts, steelband competitions and frantic activity in the mas camps where the costumes for the parade and the individual competitions are prepared. On Tuesday, huge bands parade through the streets of Port of Spain with members of up to 4,000 people. In the arena of the Queen's Park Savannah the bands are judged by official judges from the Carnival Development Committee (CDC) for "The Best Band Competition" and by the people for "The People's Choice" award.

Carnival, the "theater of the streets" is an ephemeral celebration. Every year the bandleaders design the costumes anew, make up new stories, musicians write new songs. Past carnivals live only in the memory of the people so that the festival is an art form that is not preserved in a museum but stored in the collective mind of the community. Derek Walcott has called it "a theater without walls, a museum of the moment", accordingly.[2]

The function and significance of the carnival immediately relates to the society's social and political environment. Broadly speaking, the carnival constitutes a means of communication where people want to bring certain

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[1] Bacchanal refers to the Roman Bacchanalia, a festival where homage was paid to Dionysus.

[2] Derek WALCOTT, "Theater Without Walls", *Kennedy Center: Stagebill,* November 1988, p. 39.

topics to everybody's attention. Carnival is bound to attack cultural problems of the reality which is not perceived as being congruent with present expectations. In fact, the greater the discrepancy between the real and the wanted world, the more disturbed the regular channels of communication must be and the higher the impact of the carnival can be.

In colonial Trinidad of the 1950s, the carnival was one of the vehicles to ease the tension as the government realized that it was more profitable to tolerate the festival than to prohibit it altogether. The social levelling that occurred during carnival effaced the ethnic and social barriers of the colonial society. For the short period of the event, the colonized people could feel "free", but only within the framework of the prefabricated festivities. The carnival's institutionalization through, for instance, the installment of an official carnival committee in 1959, was a final attempt to use the festival as a controlled stabilizer of the colonial system.

Some writers argue that the Trinidad Carnival has its roots in the fantastic world the slaves created at the occasion when they were granted a certain licence.[3] In order to survive the slaves "at night [...] played at being people, mimicking the rites of the upper world". V.S. Naipaul commented on the Trinidad Carnival saying that "the bands, the flags, and costumes have little to do with Lent, and much to do with slavery".[4]

After emancipation in 1834, the former slaves were allowed to take part in the street parade. They appeared as tarred imps, devils, and bats, and "every negro, male and female, wore a white flesh-coloured mask, their woolly hair carefully concealed by hadkerchiefs."[5] The hierarchical order of the colonial society was artificially lifted for the time of the festivities.

During the latter of the nineteenth century the colonial government made several unsuccesful attempts to supress the carnival. For this period as well as for the slaves' pre-emancipation festivities the idea of carnival as formulated by Bakhtin applies:

> The laws, prohibitions, and restrictions that determine the structure and order of ordinary, that is noncarnival, life are suspended during carnival: what is suspended first of all is hierarchical structure [...] everything resulting from socio-

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[3]Cf. Bridget BRERETON, *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962,* London 1981, p. 48; see also Roger BASTIDE in *African Civilisations in the New World,* New York 1971.

[4]V.S. NAIPAUL, "Power to the Caribbean People", in *The Aftermath of Sovereignty,* ed. L. Lowenthal, New York 1973, p. 365, p. 364; Naipaul here refers to the secret societies the slaves had established.

[5]Quoted from Errol HILL, *The Trinidad Carnival: Mandate for a National Theatre,* Austin 1972, the only comprehensive work on the Trinidad carnival, no further study has been done on the carnival after independence.

> hierarchical inequality or any other form of inequality among people.[6]

Throughout the post-emancipation period the upside-down world of the festival was left as a mere signal of the dire need for changes. Yet, carnival remained a temporary liberation from the established order.[7] The upside-down world was interpreted by Brereton as serving "the function of an escape valve for the masses."[8] It is not the purpose of this paper to enter the ongoing dispute among scholars concerned with carnival studies who argue if the carnival serves as a safety valve for the established order or if it contains revolutionary elements. Brereton's view, however, shows one side of the coin. In fact, the Trinidad Carnival of the 19th century was also a means of social criticism and playful testing of a new identity by means of parody and mockery. Craton, in his book *Testing the Chains,* commented:

> when the emancipated slaves found their plight as miserable as in slavery days and their aspirations thwarted by their former owners, discontent mounted. In some colonies the unrest was somehow contained close to the surface only in the riotous catharsis of the annual Carnival or Junkanoo.[9]

A look at the nineteenth century mask[10] of the *negre jardin* discloses a complex concept of mimicry which is much more than just mere imitation. In its earliest form the mask was played by white planters disguising as *negre jardins.*[11] They blackened their faces and dressed up in working clothes usually worn by their slaves. The tradition was resumed in the post-emancipation carnival by ex- slaves in a midnight procession called *canboulay.* Singing and dancing, armed with sticks and carrying torches they passed through the streets of Port Spain. Hill has noticed that

> the torches were symbolic both of their past bondage and of their newly won freedom, which they proclaimed by vigorous participation in a festival that, according to Fraser, they had previously been excluded from.[12]

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[6]Mikhail BAKHTIN, *Problems of Dostoievsky's Poetics,* Minneapolis 1984, p. 122.

[7]Cf. Mikhail BAKHTIN, *Rabelais and his World,* Cambridge 1968.

[8]Bridget BRERETON, "The Trinidad Carnival 1870-1900", *Caribbean Studies* 11/12 (1975), p. 57.

[9]Michael CRATON, *Testing the Chains,* Ithaca 1982, p.325.

[10]The terms mask and costume are used interchangeably in this paper.

[11]I.e. field laborer.

[12]Errol HILL, op. cit., p. 24. Fraser was chief of police in Port of Spain; his report to the governor of 1881 is one of the best sources about the 19th century carnival.

The ex-slaves' version of the *negre jardin* developed into a fancy version with satin or velvet short pants and embroidered shirts trimmed with tiny metal belts. This mimicry, however, comprised two layers. First, the French masqueraders created the *negre jardin* by imitating their slaves. Second, the former slaves adopted and transformed the mask, thus creating a mask of a mask. It remains open to question whether the former slaves imitated the French's imitation of slavery, or if the *canboulay* version of the *negre jardin* was a parody on slavery itself. The emerging triangular relationship between master, slave and masquerader inherent in the carnival mask might have its basis in the transculturation process that took place in the Caribbean.[13] These creative processes consisted of several layers and had their basis "not on the simple two-way contact between European master and African servant", as Nettleford has phrased the matter.[14]

The French carnival tradition was first. It was a ballroom event and a festival for the high society. Alongside, a secondary fragmented tradition existed which was brought over by the enslaved Africans and found its way into, for example, the secret societies mentioned above. In a gradual process of creolization these two traditions underwent a metamorphosis that resulted in a New World carnival.

The concept of creating images of images is present in the carnival of today and it in fact refers to the very essence of the Trinidad festival. Carnival masks are facsimiles of reality which are stored in the memory of the people thus creating a continuing human experience of the people for the people.

The carnival began to lose its traditional masks, the devils, bats, and imps around the 1920s. Simultaneously, middle class participation in the carnival fostered more elaborate installments, namely the historical bands. They came into full swing in the 1950s, the time preceding Trinidad's political independence in 1962. Western cultural products, especially Hollywood movies, served as a background for many historical bands so that the concept of mimicry no longer applied by then. The traditional nineteenth century masks and the historical bands did not survive to play prominent parts in the carnival. Today, the remaining robbers or the sailor bands play but a sideshow compared with the dominant "pretty masks". A transformation toward a carnival of color and prettiness occurred during the 1970s and can be regarded as a result of Trinidad's 1962 independence.

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[13]Cf. Sidney MINTZ, *Caribbean Transformations*, Baltimore 1984.

[14]Rex NETTLEFORD, *Caribbean Cultural Identity: The Case of Jamaica*, Los Angeles 1979, p. 185.

The historical bands recalled themes from history based often on extensive research in libraries or of films. Yet the focus had shifted from mere mockery to the need of an expression of the self.

As a point in fact Harold Saldhena, one of the most distinguished bandleaders of the last decades, in 1955 produced "Imperial Rome", a band that is still in the memory of everybody who saw it, among them Michael Anthony:

> This great band, bringing vividly to life the story of the Imperial Roman epochs, carried more than a dozen sections, each one representing a facet of the life at the capitol and in high society during that colourful period. [...] Nero Caesar stood out most majestic in royal purple and silver, a laurel wreath of gold round his head, a cape 14 feet long, with gold sandals on his feet, and in his hand a golden harp, a wine glass, and a weeping glass.[15]

References to the Hollywood movie *Quo Vadis* were apparent, the details such as the weeping glass or the golden harp were modelled after Peter Ustinov's presentation of Nero. In the movie, however, Ustinov portrayed the emperor as a poor image of a Roman imperator. His presentation satirically displayed a sovereign whose concern lies not with the people but his own greed for power. The carnivalized Nero, on the other hand, turned out to be more than a mere imitation. The masquerader turned Nero upside-down, and again the concept of creating an image of an image becomes apparent: Nero according to Anthony was not playing Nero. He rather displayed the costume of Nero with him as person inside. The concern with being visible and recognizable in the costume proclaims the masqueraders sovereignty and self-esteem. This also explains the absence of face masks in the Trinidad carnival, a tradition very much alive in European carnivals. Headpieces are common though, but the masqueraders who perform in broad daylight, do not become the character they present. The idea behind the Nero presentation is not to play the role of Nero but to dance the costume. The authenticity of the rich costume,[16] and the care for details as, for example, the weeping glass, allude to the source of the mask. But the authenticity is broken when the masqueraders dance the costumes to calypso music on an open stage in the Savannah.

Furthermore, the transformation of the Hollywood satire into a carnival event displayed the "grandeur" and "power" of the emperor:

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[15]Trinidad *Guardian*, February 27, 1984.

[16]Artistic craftsmanship has a long tradition in the carnival. The historical bands' breastplates and shields, for example, were made of copper, a tradition that is still upheld today by bands such as Berlin Associates and Peter Minshall.

> What made Saldenha's "Nero" such an outstanding presentation was that it was portrayed by a man of such excellent physical proportions that one immediately felt the power and toughness that was Nero Caesar, against the grandeur that was Imperial Rome.[17]

A western understanding of irony as being "a condition of affairs or events of a character opposite to what was [...] a contradictory outcome of events as if in mockery"[18] does not apply to the carnival presentation. According to Frantz Fanon, irony has a different connotation in the Caribbean:

> in Europe irony protects against the awareness of anguish, in Martinique it protects against the awareness of Negritude. [...] It can be seen that a study of irony in the West Indies is crucial for the sociology of this region. Aggressiveness there is almost always cushioned by irony. See for example, the Carnival and the songs composed in this occasion.[19]

Two models are possible for an interpretation of the Nero mask: First seen from a western point of view, the mask's authority is a mockery of the colonial power, i.e., opposite to the expressed grandeur it displays that a Black man can play Nero, and thus might even be a reference to the political independence to come. Following Fanon's observations, however, the emphasis would be on Nero's mocking the colonial power and thereby covering up the colonized people's aggressiveness. Both models do not seem to fully cover the Caribbean experience, however, for Nero's ambivalent message can be interpreted from a two-way perspective. On the surface the mask passes as an imitation of the European past whereas on a deeper level, it can be read as a symbolic statement that the European predominance will soon pass into the hands of the Trinidadians. Eco, in his 1984 article *Frames of Comic Freedom* argues along the same lines:

> We are absolutely impermeable to nonwestern comedy, while we are able to understand eastern tragedies [...] We do not really understand the reason behind why or when Japanese or Chinese laugh unless we are endowed with some ethnographic information.[20]

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[17] Trinidad *Guardian*, Feb. 27, 1984.

[18] *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford 1971, p. 484.

[19] Frantz FANON, "West Indians and Africans", *The Aftermath of Sovereignty*, eds. Lowenthal and Comitas, New York 1983, p. 267.

[20] Umberto ECO, "The Frames of Comic Freedom", *Carnival!*, ed. T. Sebeok, New York 1985, p. 3.

By using the carnival as a medium, the masqueraders imitate a movie scene on one level in order to become equal to the colonizer. On another level the portrayal of a historical character enables them to participate in a communicative process not accessible in the colonial society. Lowenthal, however, comments negatively on this illusion:

> West Indians genuinely believe their identity can be altered. The wish is often realized in imagination; they easily persuade themselves they are something else [...] This delusion is most prevalent in the elite and middle class.[21]

To view the carnival as a direct outlet of this delusion would overstress Lowenthal's argument. Nevertheless, the festival is a creative outlet of the Trinidadians' imaginative concepts of their identity.

Historical metaphors in carnival bands up to Trinidad's independence, referred to Trinidad's colonial situation in a polemic way. Polemics, as it was trimmed with poetic allusions, made up the bandleaders' scholarly way of presentation. They appear to be the adequate expression of a people deprived of the right of self-determination because polemics are immediately dependent on an authority which they mean to dispute but which, in actuality, they remain bound to reassert.[22] Carnival reinterprets and comments on political realities, but is not a political action by itself. Carnival is neither, as Naipaul understands it, an aesthetic alternative to life, an illusion, or a direct reflection of reality. It appears to be rather a stylized rendering of concerns and values of the society.[23]

Trinidad's independence gradually had an impact on the carnival bands. The renaissance the carnival experienced in the pre-independence period of the 1950s was tied to the emergence of Creole nationalism. But when political unrest in connection with the black power movement brushed across Trinidad in the early 1970s, an awareness of things African became evident and the people became interested in their environment. Productions such as *Anancy Story* (1972) and *Wonders of Buccoo Reef* (1971) by Eric Williams recaptured Caribbean folk-tales about the tricky spider Anancy and local settings suchs as the Buccoo Reef on Tobago. In contrast to the rich costumes of the historical bands the gear became increasingly scanty. With the excitement of independence in full swing in the 1970s the so-called "pretty bands" became very popular. To this day short dresses and leotards are their traditional trademark and only

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[21]David LOWENTHAL, *West Indian Societies,* Oxford 1972, p. 250.

[22]Cf. Josef ERNST, *The structures of political communication in the United Kingdom, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany: A Comparative Media Study of the Economist, Time, and Der Spiegel,* Frankfurt a.M. 1988.

[23]Cf. V.S. NAIPAUL, *The Middle Passage,* London 1962, pp. 90; "Power to the Caribbean People", op.cit., p. 364.

the king and queen costumes remained to be huge expensive constructions. Emphasis was put on color and a prize for the most colorful band was eventually given out some years ago. Minshall was one of the few bandleaders to work against this trend. In contrast to the skimpy nylon leotards he dresses his masqueraders in cotton costumes covering the whole body.

The carnival as a "festival of colors"[24] is viewed critically by many Trinidadians. Discussions about the message of the *mas* seem to be neverending and the population eventually divided into two parties. Those who want more meaning in *mas* mostly play with Minshall, who even dared to bring out bands in recent years that were all dressed in white like in *River* (1983) or black as in *Rat Race* (1986). Minshall's *Rat Race* was furthermore startling because he used rats dressed in black as characters. In fact, many people thought that this was an insult to a festival predominantly concerned with beauty and color. An editorial in the Trinidad *Guardian* of Feb. 9, 1986 expressed the irritation:

> Most, however, and quite understandibly would have rejected it outright as being by far too unpleasant a subject to portray in a national festival that places so much emphasis on colour and gaudy tinsel [...] He (Minshall) is unlikely to please the judges.

Subsequently, *Rat Race* scored fourth in the official competition, but the people voted it first place in "The People's Choice" award.

It is worthwhile to take a closer look at Minshall's productions. The king of the band, "Manrat", was a construction which deliberately evoked the masquerader's ability to dance the costume in the traditional way of shuffling and bouncing across the stage in the Savannah. He was a king of a new generation, consisting of an alumininum and fibre glass frame covered with black fur which was shown through with glowing red arteries. This modern image of the "Piedpieper of Hameln" was a transparent assemblage with satellite dishes for ears and spotlights for eyes. A radio was mounted in the costume's chest and a television set glared from his stomach, allowing for the audio-visual transmission of his appearance. Both were fed from a battery. On stage in complete darkness the radio provided "Manrat" with his own tune while the coverage of his performance was transmitted via the built-in TV set. Thus, self-sufficient

[24]The expressin goes back to a Kodak commercial in the 1950s, saying that carnival could not be recorded adequately in black and white. This statement has gone into the vocabulary of the *mas* and according to Minshall has become "the curse we carry on our shoulders. Then color for its own sake is utterly meaningless".

"Manrat" showed "Manrat" showing "Manrat". As Minshall commented that

> in the latter half of the twentieth century man with his own technology is strapped into a wheelchair where his spirit is encased, where he can hardly move.[25]

Here again, the concept of creating an image of an image appears in a highly stylized form.

Ever since Minshall began to design carnival costumes in the 1970s he has been a domineering force in the field. He attempts to stylize the movement of his masqueraders directly through the costumes. His wing constructions provide a good example.

The usage of wings in the carnival go back to the imps and bats of the dragon or devil bands of the nineteenth century. Minshall picked up on this in his first presentation *From the Land of the Humming Bird* in 1974. In 1982, Minshall's *Papillon* brought the wings to perfection. They were attached to a back brace to be strapped around the masquerader's shoulders and waist. The lightweight fibreglass frames were covered with organdy and taffeta. Contrary to the dominating carnival fashion of the time with its enormous costumes built like sculptures, Minshall's masqueraders could actually dance their costumes. Kings and queens from other bands had to put their costumes on wheels because the heavy weight of up to ninety pounds made the structures very difficult to move.[26] Minshall's costumes on the other hand, allowed the masquerader an uninhibited movement which in turn could be choreographed by the designer.

One of the criteria by which the King and Queen masks are judged is how good the masquerader "dances the costume". It is peculiar that no specific dance was developed in Trinidad in contrast to Rio de Janeiro where the Samba is prevalent. Traditional masks such as dragons or bats used to perform a characteristic dance, but today's bands no longer do. As one of the oldest art forms, dance is a vigorous and sensitive medium of entertainment. The rhythmic movement arising from emotion forms a community:

> Dance serves to knit individuals into a unity, a society. Rhythm not only makes the individual whole but also links individual dancers by a common emotion.[27]

The way Minshall designs his costumes he provides the masquerader with a framework for his movements. During the early 1980s he trav-

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[25] Peter MINSHALL, personal communication, Port of Spain, Trinidad, February 14, 1986.

[26] These costumes are called totem-poles.

[27] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* vol. 7, Chicago 1972, p. 30.

elled on a new path in the design of carnival costumes. Minshall, who was described by Walcott as "the designer who brought Carnival into an unaccommodating authority of artistic vision",[28] introduced a mechanic costume in his 1983 production "River" of 1983.

In order to reflect on the relationship of man and technology he invented "Mancrab" the evil protagonist who stalked beneath a white canopy symbolizing the river which he polluted. Encased in a satellite-like creation of mechanics he was the true predecessor of "Manrat", Minshall's king of 1986. The mechanical collar of his claws could be manipulated by bicycle gears to simulate the motion of the crab's legs. Self-supporting, with battery-powered laser eyes he resembled a robot. Gone was the fluorescent dance of former Minshall kings like "The Devil Ray"; his modern masquerader had to convert dance movements into stalking steps. Indeed, "Mancrab" was scuffling and dragging forward.

If Minshall had returned to carnival its artisan qualities with the wing constructions of the 1970s, "Mancrab" represented a second stage, the "mechanical age". "Manrat" finally brought the carnival into the "technological age" of the twentieth century.

In conclusion, the openness of the carnival provides the festival with flexibility as well as adaptability. Today, the *mas* has become an organized mass spectacle which integrates a large part of the population. Bands of up to 4,000 masqueraders determine the parade and in fact, there are more masqueraders parading the streets of Port of Spain than spectators watching along the sidewalks. The traditional diversion between *mas* and spectators thus becomes neutralized as Bakhtin recognized:

> carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators [...] Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people.[29]

So, the carnival constitutes a cultural medium where the people are consumers and producers at once. Together they create the carnival spectacle, a montage of different bands in the sense of what Eisenstein has called "the montage of attractions."[30] But masqueraders cannot be directed like actors, the montage can only be broadly planned by the bandleader whereas the specifics depend on the participants. In case of failure, the effects are lost forever and the whole event may fall through. This has happened to Minshall's queen in 1986 when during the competition her costumes got entangled with the cables of the wagon she was

[28]Derek WALCOTT, "Theater Without Walls", op.cit., p.40.
[29]Mikhail BAKHTIN, *Rabelais and his World*, op.cit., p. 7.
[30]Cf. Sergei EISENSTEIN, *Film Sense*, New York 1975.

dragging along so that she could not move offstage without help. Therefore, the "montage of attractions" remains unique in that the carnival is a show of trial and error. It is an art form which cannot be perfectly planned, stored and looked at again. Rather, it is meant to impress its ephemeral thematic effects onto the memory of the people. For the time of the festivities, past and present possibly collapse to provide new visions for the future.

Today's Trinidad Carnival therefore is betwixt and between; it thrives as a mediator between the cultural coordinates present in the Trinidadian society while it simultaneously incorporates changes in reality which go beyond the Trinidadian seashore, thus trascending reality itself.

RASTA MEK A TROD. SYMBOLIC AMBIGUITY IN A GLOBALIZING RELIGION[1]

Carole D. Yawney (Toronto)

Rastafari in these times represents a remarkable picture, not only for Caribbeanists, but also for students of New Age religion. Although it has its roots in an island culture on the capitalist periphery, and although it has always appealed expressly to Africans of the Diaspora, Rastafari nevertheless has acquired the status of a global religion over the last two decades. ("Global" is used here rather than "universal", in order to stress the movement's distribution in space more than the trascendental appeal of its creed.) To some extent the dissemination of Rastafari can be explained sociologically by the fact that Jamaicans themselves have had to go into diaspora, whether for political or economic reasons, and some of them accordingly have carried the World/Sound/Power of Rastafari abroad – to Africa itself, but also to the Americas, to Britain, northern Europe, Japan, New Zealand, and elsewhere in the Caribbean.

Yet to cram Rastafari's global spread into the baggage of emigration is to ignore the fact that Jamaicans – not to mention Rastafari – are socially enclaved if not outrightly persecuted in most of the nations where they have settled. How then can they exert any real cultural influence in these places? The alternative explantion treats Rastafari mainly as a media phenomenon, borne along on a wave of enthusiasm for reggae as it is heard worldwide in broadcasts, recordings, and live concerts. But here again, in this explanation there is a lack of appreciation for the depth of commitment to Rastafari outside of Jamaica, for this clearly exceeds the aesthetic dimension alone.

In this paper we will seek to go beyond both positions by approaching the vision of Rastafari as a constellation of ambiguous symbols, which today has the power to focalize and even mediate certain socio-cultural tensions that have developed on a global scale. Theoretically this is an important line of investigation, for it promises to shed light on the ways in which sacred imagery passes across an ethnic boundary. But it is also worthwhile to reason along these lines if only to neutralize ethnocentrism, for there is a pronounced tendency among those not in the spirit of Rasta-

[1]I would like to thank Douglas W. Smith for advice and suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

fari to ridicule its sacred imagery as reactionary, anachronistic, or merely eccentric.

More than present-day, text-centred Christiancy, Rastafari puts great emphasis upon the practice of contemplation, which employs visual imagery as a focus for concentrated thought. Orthodox Rastafari contemplation draws upon a small lexicon of "master symbols" which allude to a realm that is pure, righteous and potent. In Rastafari sacred art these symbols are assembled with typical iconographic rigor, so that their spiritual and/or historical message might be "read" without risk of heresy or confusion.

Foremost among these master symbols are images stemming from the political dinasty of Ethiopia, as this was portrayed in the press of the 1930's. Time and again in the yards of West Kingston we see represented the austere visage of Emperor Haile Selassie I; or profiles of the Emperor's power totem, the Lion of Judah; or trinitarian figures, including the Star of David, which derive from the Emperor's throne name, "Power of the Trinity"; or pictures of the Empress Menon in the company of her husband; or epigraphs in Amharic script, an official language of Ethiopia; or reproductions of the Ethiopian flag, sometimes rippled and sometimes flattened. And everywhere prominent use is made of red, gold, and green – the colour symbolism which bands the Ethiopian flag. Apart from these specifically Ethiopian motifs there are four other master symbols which have a more general African origin, these being dreadlocks, the herbs chalice, the standing drums, and finally, the continent of Africa itself.

Nowadays, however, Rastafari iconography employs a number of what may be called "adjunct symbols", whose sacredness is not beyond dispute. Most of these elements originate in the Jamaican experience; thus palm trees and outline maps of Jamaica appear frequently, as do images of Marcus Garvey and Bob Marley. Still, we must recognize that the leading edge of Rastafari has not yet been rendered in visual imagery. Around such matters as Ital livity, Nyahbinghi culture, African liberation struggles, and converging New Age spirititual traditions some consensus may already have emerged, but there is no final agreement as to how they should be visualized symbolically.

Those Rastafari Elders and craftspeople who make use of visual imagery have the opportunity to work in any of three iconographic genres, which vary according to the complexity and lability of their symbolism. In the observer's own terms these may be characterized as the *devotional,* the *didactic,* and the *mystical* genres, though within Rastafari itself such distinctions are not made.

Of these three genres the simplest and most orthodox is the devotional one, since this often consists only of a single master symbol accompanied by an empowering slogan. Intended as a guide for contemplation,

but sometimes also as a call to action, the Rastafari devotional icon has been reproduced in a wide range of media, including postcards, framed photographs, tabloid covers, and lapel buttons. Since its message is unambiguous, the devotional genre does not inspire commentary, nor does it need decoding.

More complex and idiosyncratic is the didactic genre, which combines both sacred and secular elements in order to represent the suffering of black people in a whiteruled world. Ranging from ephemeral cartoon to paintings in oil, works in this genre may portray in simultaneous tableaux a number of historical characters who may actually have lived at very different points in time. Such works beg commentary for this reason, and in fact they may become meaningful only through the narration of the artist himself, who in this case teaches with the aid of iconic images rather than abstract symbols. Partisans of Rastafari who have not yet reasoned in the Elders' yards are apt to be unfamiliar with didactic art, for this is a genre that does not travel well, except in those rare instances when the Elders themselves accompany their works abroad.

But the most complex and labile of all Rastafari works are those of a mystical cast. These can range from pencilled sketches to technically sophisticated album jackets. In this genre the artist seeks to provide visual keys to ineffable states of mind, which by nature are beyond verbal commentary. He does this by arraying sacred symbols in such a way that these unfold or mutually reinforce one another along ordained visual pathways. The mystical art of Rastafari most clearly reflects the movement's global connections, since it welcomes evocatives imagery from other traditions, then goes on to organize this by means of a cosmopolitan "syntax".

When cast in the mystical mode, Rastafari imagery is furthermore liable to lose its oppositional character as reflecting the struggles of black people solely. Here there is a tendency for it to become "universal" and not merely "global".

This is possible in the first place, because certain master symbols by themselves can be interpreted ambiguously. The features of the Emperor, for example, do not conform to black stereotypes, while Ethiopian culture can be regarded as either Coptic or pagan. Again, one may chose to emphasize Ethiopia's theocratic hierarchialism, or the simple egalitarianism of its dread warriors and ascetic monks. There is also room for ambiguity over the contention that Amharic is the Pure Language, for this may be understood either as the rightful language of pre-slavery Africa, or as an esoteric script with universal relevance. Finally, there is an ambiguous element about the Emperor's historical mission, for on the one hand until 1935 he led the only free stat in Africa, yet on the other hand he fulfilled the immigrant's secret wish-dream by prophesying the Europeans' doom on their own home ground at the League of Nations.

Ambiguity is also generated when certain master symbols are juxtaposed with other adjunct ones. Currently this possibility has arisen over the matter of the canonization of Marcus Garvey, which in iconographic terms involves placing the Jamaican leader visually on par with the Ethiopian Emperor. In ways that are richly suggestive, Garvey represents a type that is the polar opposite of Selassie I. In contrast to the austerity, the lean physique and the personal isolation of the Emperor, Garvey is tipically portrayed as genial, ample in girth, and charismatic.

An ambiguous mix of adjunct and master symbols is also created by the common practice of printing outline maps of Jamaica with the Ethiopian colours superimposed. To some this may suggest that the island has become saturated with the vision of continental repatriation, but to others it may imply, in Garvey's phrase, that a continent has been exchanged for an island.

Overall, the range of symbolic ambiguities in Rastafari imagery encourages oppressed people everywhere to articulate and resolve their grievances with redemptive imagery. Although this falls short of a political solution, it assists in bringing about a consensual community. This in itself is empowering. Why such symbolic resolutions can be achieved on a global scale has to do with the kinds of common issues faced by people of all nations: the ecological crisis stands over against Ital livity; the corruption of secular leaders is counterposed by the theme of theocratic morality; engulfing materialism is challenged by the vision of preindustrial Ethiopia; and disenchanted youth are awakened by the words of the Elder.

However, by becoming virtually a global ocurrency, the Rastafari vision has bean threatened with dispersion and trivialization. In response, a number of Jamaican Theocratic Elders are counselling a return to orthodoxy. Through their efforts a new symbolic complex has come before the public, both in Jamaica and abroad.[2] Known as Nyahbinghi, which

[2]In 1984 a group of three Jamaican Nyahbinghi Elders travelled outside the Caribbean for the first time on a four week cultural-educational mission to Toronto. This programme, known as "Voice of Thunder: Dialogue With Nyahbinghi Elders", was co-organized by the author and Sister Charmaine Montague. It involved at least a dozen public events in different venues. In 1986 this same group of brethren as well as the author participated in a two week long international Rastafari conference in London, England, called "Rastafari Focus". In the weeks following this conference these Nyahbinghi brethren visited different scenes in the U.K. to promote their culture. In the follow-up to this conference a group of local Rastafari initiated in the U.K. a series of reasoning and cultural activities known as "The Nyahbinghi Project". Finally, in 1988 a group of a dozen Nyahbinghi Elders from Jamaica, including for the first time three Sistren, spent several weeks chanting Nyahbinghi from Washington to New York City. This programme was called: "The Rainbow Circle Throne Room of Jah

has roots in the 1930's in Jamaica, this complex is embedded in a ritual process consisting of extended drumming, chanting, reasoning, and testimony, all of which are meant to release spiritual energies that will vanquish Babylon. Nyahbinghi is adamantly opposed to reggae runnins and the dance hall style, and at the very least it is ambivalent about the universalizing trends in the works of Bob Marley. Rather than simply disseminating a symbolism divorced from everyday life, the Nyahbinghi Elders insist on teaching the actual practice of Rastafari, since this alone can generate true understanding and foster inspiration. As an effort at countermissionization, Nyahbinghi is currently striving to rectify a visionary impulse that is imperiled by its very triumphs.

Nyahbinghi, however, cannot be marketed like reggae, for if reggae is essentially a musical phenomenon sometimes with a political message, Nyahbinghi is a cultural performance (and not a media event) consisting of a complex integration of chanting praises, drumming, reasoning, proper conduct, dancing, clothing, symbolism, and devotional discourse. Springing from a primarily oral culture, Nyahbinghi Rastafari are not comfortable with the radical separation of artist and audience. When binghis are convened in Jamaica it is assumed that all are participants, that all are in a state of devotional awareness, that all will strive to observe certain ritual injunctions.

It is customary in Jamaica to establish a Nyahbinghi compound, one that is clearly separated from the ordinary world, by the fact that it is in isolated rural parts, with a main entrance monitored by self-appointed gate keepers who take it upon themselves to reason with strangers as to their purpose in being there. The central focus of Nyahbinghi activity is the Tabernacle, a roofed-over open-air structure, usually containing an Altar, around which participants dance and chant praises, and near which a large fire is maintained for the duration of the celebration. By the fact that both food and fuel are generally provided by those convening the Assembley there is no need for the participants to leave before the end of the event, which could last several days. Binghis differ from the rural folk festival by the fact that there are no ordained performers upon whom audience attention is focussed. While it is true that between women and men there is an assignment of background and foreground roles, it cannot be said that there is a distinction between performer and audience. Antiphonal chanting, interactive reasoning, collective dancing, and communal cuisine all serve to forestall this polarity. Brethren phase one another in playing the drums, and can exercise their virtuoso talents only within strictly ordained rhythmic parameters. And last but

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Rastafari: The Musical and Oral Traditions of the Nyahbinghi Order". At the same time several Nyahbinghi Elders travelled to California on a similar mission.

not least, their sounds go unamplified in these places where there is no electricity.

Now, when Nyahbinghi Elders decide to make a trod beyond the Caribbean they are faced with all the contradictions implicit in moving from an oral to an electronic context. This results in another set of symbolic ambiguities which may stimulate further cultural creativity on the part of Rastafari.

Outside Jamaica Nyahbinghi Elders find their movements restricted. Unlike reggae stars they need a special social and cultural milieu to be authentically themselves. Travelling always as a group, as Brethren, they insist that the standards of ital livity be upheld wherever they take lodging. This means that they expect to be sustained by a community of Rastafari. Obviously such communities must attain a certain critical density before they can perform this service for the Nyahbinghi Elders. And what this means in practical terms is that Nyahbinghi pathways are restricted to those countries where there is a substantial host community. Currently this means Canada, United States, and Britain, but in the near future may well include Zimbabwe, Nigeria, and Ethiopia.

In the second place, even though Nyahbinghi Elders nowadays can rest assured that their livity will be upheld in a few countries beyond the Caribbean, they nevertheless face substantial contradictions when it comes to celebrating Nyahbinghi in such places.[3] Apart from the difficulties of sponsorship and the responsibility of the Elders to those who have organized the venues, neither they nor their hosts feel comfortable in rural circumstances where the majority of the population is white. First World Nyahbinghis therefore are staged, not held, in auditoria. This not only limits the length of the occasion but it also makes available amplification devices which enhance the sounds of the performers at the expense of the rest of the gathering. With a stage at their disposal the drummers assume an unnatural prominence over the Rastafari arranged in tiers of chairs before them. Sensible fire regulations prohibit ital cooking in charcoal braziers and invariably disallow firepits which in Jamaica are a non-personal focus of ecstatic energy. And it goes without saying that the chalice cannot be in view, that instead of being a public sacrament it becomes a secret. In all these respects the full expression of Nyahbinghi is hobbled in the Fist World.

On the other hand there is a much broader exposure to Nyahbinghi than would ever be possible in Jamaica. Apart from local Nyahbinghi Rastafari in attendance, who may even be in the minority, there will doubtless be

[3]It must be remembered that here we are referring to public Nyahbinghi activities organized in the context of a "tour". For years Rastafari in the Diaspora have held Nyahbinghi celebrations in the United Stated or Britain privately.

Rastafari who have never visted Jamaica, Third World sympathizers of Rastafari, and whites who may be politicized or who may simply be there for the music. Here then is a symbolically potent situation where a pure but parochial culture is radiated onto an audience sure to provide a mixed response.

Still, in this dialectic between stern parochialism and jaded post-modernism there is none of the hysteria or hilarity that one might suppose. Even though this polarity of performer and audience is largely maintained, one discerns in these gatherings a kind of quizzicality. Far from ridiculing the performance the audience typically makes hesitant, even timid attempts to bridge the gulf (and are encouraged to do so) between their emptiness and the performer's fullness. There is a poignancy in this, an instability, for we can see beneath the post- modern addiction to pastiche and self-reference a profound yearning for a simpler way. Having been alerted to the abuses of dogma the audience holds itself back with exemplary finesse, but they suffer at the same time from a paralysis of cynicism. And you can see their hearts warm to a level of the performance that is deeper than dogma. In these first few encounters between Nyahbinghi and nihilism can we see emerging a new way of being together where orthodoxy is simultaneously bracketed and revered?

If such an attitude is emerging it is certainly not rooted primarily in nostalgia. There can be no sepia-tone sentiment where Nyahbinghi is concerned for in their reasoning the Elders channel pure Word/Sound/Power. Perhaps what we harken to in these gatherings is the possibility of experiencing communitas and rectitude in a situation of symbolic ambiguity: while we feel no commitment to the symbols as such, it is nevertheless this very provincialism that provides us privileged access to the Cosmic. Rastafari have chosen to speak in the metaphors of the Judaic heritage, the deepest tradition they could trace, given the disruption of slavery. And this radical simplification of things – call it fundamentalism – awakens us. It brings us to our senses. We see the world from the point of view of eternal verities. This is healing work, even though it uses symbols for which we feel only the echo of allegiance.

Let us return to the basic dualism that links together the hierarchical and the egalitarian, the theocratic and the anarchic, the vertical and the horizontal, Elder and youth. Underlying these, what is the basic contradiction that when unreconciled creates a rich panoply of symbolic ambiguities? To keep the faith with Rastafari we would have to pay only nodding attention to all these no doubt profound Western perplexities and then assert in their place the view that the innermost or fundamental contradiction involves Africa in relation to the Diaspora. Cast anew from the Garden which was a paradise not because everything was fulfilled, but because all was possible, Rastafari articulates the dignified sadness

of passionate exile to the point where it evokes such primordial imagery and sentiments that it becomes one with the mind and ways of all exiles, including ourselves.

"30 DE AGOSTO", DOCU-DRAMA[1] PUERTORRIQUEÑO; O SOBRE LA RESISTENCIA DE LOS 'LAGARTOS'

Hermann Herlinghaus (Berlin)

El Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano, en las tres décadas de su persistencia, ha ido padeciendo la falta o la inestabilidad de infraestruras de la imagen audiovisual pertenecientes a las respectivas naciones. Las industrias cinematográficas en que estas infraestructuras lograron consolidarse (México, Brasil o Argentina, por ejemplo) sobrellevan, a su vez, la doble carga de la crisis económica y la del propio medio, debido al papel ambivalente del estado y a los saltos tecnológicos de la temporada. Denominando 'dinosaurios en extinción' a las cinematografías tradicionalmente estructuradas, el cineasta mexicano Paul Leduc prefirió hablar de 'lagartijas' y 'salamandras' al referirse, en un seminario en 1987,[2] al cine alternativo del continente. Parece ser aquello que no deja de reanimar su condición bajo las circunstancias más precarias.

El interrogante trasciende los deslindes de los géneros artísticos, si hablamos de la conceptualización y de las experiencias de culturas alternativas. Pienso en culturas que, grosso modo, se caracterizan por su resistencia ante las renovadas prácticas de desvirtuar conciencias y valores de autodeterminación colectiva. Tal cultura – "ese blanco móvil", como la llamara Mario Benedetti en 1985 –, la cultura popular de la resistencia, de la pobreza, la de la vida, se ha encaminado a reivindicar 'las utopías modestas', palabras que introdujeron, entre otros, teólogos de la liberación en América Latina. En vista de una cotidianidad insoportable para las grandes mayorías, partiendo de conceptos humanistas integrales y rechazando las utopías abstractas, se reclama el derecho a la 'utopía mínima'. A partir de ahí se han abierto brechas para que los artistas

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[1] El término se utiliza en el sentido que le es conferido en el lenguaje cinematográfico. Se refiere a un filme de carácter básicamente documental en el que secuencias recreadas o ficcionalizadas refuerzan la noción de lo real- auténtico. En la tradición del cine puertorriqueño este método no parece tener mayores raíces, a diferencia, por ejemplo, del cine cubano, que se apoya en toda una infraestructura.

[2] Véase Paul LEDUC, *Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano y reconversión industrial*, ponencia presentada en el seminario "El Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano en el mundo de hoy", La Habana, 9 de diciembre de 1987, material mimeográfico, epílogo p. 2.

reconciban su función, como lo refleja, por ejemplo, el fenómeno de los autores del testimonio literario y fílmico. Llámese sobriedad realista o realismo vital, renovar las experiencias estéticas, adaptarlas a los senderos que escoge la historia a partir de la década del '70, no puede prescindir de métodos abiertos hacia su democratización (interna y comunicativa). No bastan los amargos clamores ante la hegemonía de la cultura de masas, ya que tal hegemonía no resulta homogénea.

Cuando faltan las teorías, conviene considerar incluso lo inverosímil ("se hace camino al andar").

La cinematografía chilena, dada por casi muerta durante el primer decenio del Pinochetismo, resucitó vitalmente sobre la base del video y, económicamente, de la actividad publicitaria. Visualiza, a nivel de resistencia antifascista, un modelo que conjuga producción y distribución multifacéticas con una comunicación socialmente diferenciada.[3]

Mucho menos aún se ha oído hablar del cine de Puerto Rico. Lo que, al detenerse en los grandes ejemplos, es pasado por alto o precipitadamente adjudicado a la visión de una cultura audiovisual asimilada a la metrópoli, ayuda a acentuar las tensiones. Kino García, en su *Breve historia del cine puertorriqueño,* parte de la tesis: "En Puerto Rico no existe un cine nacional pero sí hay un cine puertorriqueño con elementos y aspiraciones de ser cine nacional".[4] La necesidad de promover un cine nacional aparece vinculada a mayores exigencias, en suma, anticolonizadoras. El autor la concibe a partir de un núcleo de identidad caribeña y latinoamericana del pueblo boricua cuya nación, a falta de un respectivo estado político, ha sobrevivido resistiendo a lo moderno y lo ajeno[5] que prefirieron sembrar las autoridades metropolíticas tras el velo del Estado Libre Asociado. "La cotidianidad avasalladora"[6] del modo de vida norteamericano, hoy en día el adversario más eficaz del anhelo independentista, va también por el camino de las pantallas culturalmente penetradas.

El abrazo hegemonizador dejó pocas alternativas para que se desenvolviesen movimientos fílmicos con aspiración autodeterminativa. A pesar de que Puerto Rico fue uno de los primeros países del continente en hacer y recibir cine – ya en 1920 existía una red de salas de cine en todo el país –,[7] el proceso cinematográfico iba en mutilación bajo las olas comerciali-

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[3]Véase Yéssica ULLOA, *Video independiente en Chile,* Santiago de Chile (CENECA) 1985.

[4]Kino GARCIA, *Breve historia del cine puertorriqueño,* San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1984, p. 4.

[5]Véase Noel COLON MARTINEZ, "ELA – un caso de cirugía mayor", en *Rojo,* San Juan, Puerto Rico, del 22 al 28 de julio de 1988, p. 18.

[6]Véase José Enrique AYOROA SANTALIZ, "Acentuar el criterio diferencial", en *Rojo,* del 22 al 28 de julio de 1988, p. 16.

[7]Véase GARCIA, op. cit., p. 24.

zadoras, a la vez que faltaba una política cultural coherente y formativa por parte del estado. Esa condición se relativizó temporalmente cuando, en 1946, nació la "División de Educación a la Comunidad",[8] que, dentro del marco socio-cultural isleño, incorporó el medio de cine como un instrumento educacional y concientizador. Se dio vida a una tradición de producir cortometrajes, en principio documentales, con el propósito de operar sobre determinadas esferas de la realidad y de repercutir en los públicos locales (juventud, estudiantes, vecindades, organizaciones, etc.). Este tipo de cine, que no contaba con el beneplácito de las coyunturas de conservadorismo "asimilista" (en cuanto a Estados Unidos), se reanimó en la década del '70 a través del denominado "nuevo documentalismo",[9] sin contar esta vez con el apoyo estatal. El cortometraje independiente alcanza, a esa altura, rasgos que lo colocan en un marco opositor a estructuras dominantes (una recién establecida industria fílmica comercial) sin que se pierda en el aislamiento. Prevalecen en él actitudes de análisis y compromiso, sea o político-sociales o mayormente antropológico- culturales. Se beneficia, por la pobreza de recursos, de la actividad publicitaria de los creadores, haciéndolos trabajar en dos campos. Lo que, según un concepto estrecho, equivaldría a darle la razón al lobo, resulta ser nada menos que la apertura de nuevos caminos: Gracias a los aportes tecnológicos (el video) y las condiciones necesariamente flexibles de los "nuevos documentalistas", la posibilidad de hacer un cine crítico cuenta con formas relativamente autónomas. Le sobraban motivos a Mario Benedetti cuando dijo que para el artista latinoamericano no hay legado cultural más fuerte que el impacto de la mera realidad.[10]

El 30 de agosto de 1985 alrededor de 250 efectivos de las tropas especiales de la Agencia Federal de Investigacioones (FBI) invadieron por sorpresa 49 hogares, negocios y oficinas en diversos puntos de la isla de Puerto Rico. Su objetivo, llámese estratégico, era localizar a notables militantes independentistas y atribuirles la responsabilidad por el robo de $ 7.000.000 de la compañía Wells Fargo en Hartford, Connecticut, efectuado en 1983. Buscaban también documentos y materiales "subversivos" – término imperialmente secularizado –, armas, pertrechos paramilitares, cualquier artefacto que sustentara acusaciones de conspiración por medios violentos, y sobre todo, que pudieran vincular a los personajes involucrados con el grupo de actividad armada "Ejército Popular Boricua–Macheteros". A pesar de no encontrar la evidencia buscada, ocuparon militarmente comunidades enteras con el apoyo de la policía insular

[8]Ibid., p. 29.
[9]Ibid., p. 61.
[10]Véase Mario BENEDETTI, "La cultura – ese blanco móvil", en *América Joven. Revista de Literatura,* Rotterdam 1986, p. 16.

y otras fuerzas especiales, arrestando a 14 puertorriqueños. Arrestaron además a 2 militantes fuera del territorio isleño, una en México D.F. y otro en Houston, Texas. Lo que tienen todos ellos en común es su activismo en pro de la independencia de Puerto Rico.

Semejante clase de operativos revela, detrás de la fachada de un Puerto Rico próspero, una situación coercitiva donde las reglas de juego vienen recetadas por el camino de la "libre asociación".

Al instante nace la idea de recurrir a la imagen audio-visual, no teniendo los afectados recursos auxiliares para oponerse o para reclamar la justicia estatal. Mientras la policía puertorriqueña no puede arrestar a personas sin que las cortes lo autoricen, la FBI goza de plena superioridad. El hermano de Juan E. Segarra, uno de los militantes secuestrados, alcanza a filmar con su cámara video al helicóptero llevando a los arrestados a los recintos de la Corte Federal en Hartford, así como la consternación y el dolor de los familiares y amigos. Habiéndose identificado directamente con el asunto, "Pucho" Segarra, cineasta, 'egresado' profesional de una agencia publicitaria y debidamente equipado de videotécnica, concibe producir una película para despertar la emoción y difundir el conocimiento.

Se constituye el "Comité de Amigos y Familiares de los Arrestados el 30 de agosto" sobre una amplia base comunal. Tiene como objetivo dar vida a un programa de educación y concientización en Puerto Rico, Hartford y Nueva York para coordinar el apoyo en favor de los compatriotas, contra los cuales se volcará el aparataje de "seguridad nacional" del gobierno norteamericano. Es acordado que sea el Comité el organismo que promueva la producción del documental *30 de agosto,* dejando en el anonimato los nombres de los creadores.

Un colectivo de tres cineastas puertorriqueños enfrenta el trabajo, se ocupa de toda la labor de dirección (A. Segarra, E. Rodríguez), de guión (M. Almodóvar, E. Rodríguez), de producción (A. Segarra, M. Almodóvar), de fotografía (E. Rodríguez) y de edición (A. Segarra).[11] Optaron por el camino arduo. En vez de realizar, en lo más breve posible, un documental sobre una base completamente verídica y de argumentos contestatarios, se concibió un documental con dramatizaciones dispuesto a asumir la complejidad del conflicto. Lo que conforma estructura y contenido resulta ser un *método* documental que reúne una serie de diversos condicionantes configurativos: Puesta en escena de los acontecimientos, que, de esta manera, resultan chocantes y trascienden su inverosimilitud;

[11] El caso, en el transcurso de pocos años, desató tanta protesta en todo el público de Puerto Rico, que el propósito colectivo del filme quedó sobradamente entendido. Se deja hablar de 'creadores anónimos'. Del 1 al 8 de octubre de 1988 el filme forma parte de la representación puertorriqueña del 'Primer Festival de Cine, San Juan'.

re- creación testificada del trasfondo político-conspirativo de parte de los agresores; documentación verídica de los testimonios y de las actividades en respaldo de los arrestados; montaje de material gráfico y de metraje de archivos para captar sintéticamente los orbes históricos de la lucha en pro de la independencia de Borinquen, y para recordar las estrategias militares de Estados Unidos en toda la región de América Central y el Caribe; registro del efecto aglutinador que iba a desatar el caso *30 de agosto* en la existencia diaria de una parte masiva de la población nacional.

Producir el filme, que dura 27 minutos, primero como videograma y posteriormente transferirlo al formato de 16 milímetros significaba minimizar los costos. Su entrañable concepto, con mayor razón, requería el sustento financiero y organizativo del Comité de Amigos y Familiares, que además, ha corrido con gran parte de los gastos de la defensa de los acusados como "terroristas" (alrededor de $ 200.000) así como participó en la parte del efectivo que tuvieron que prestar los acusados para las fianzas, las cuales sobrepasan los $ 10.000.000.[12]

Las secuencias iniciales del filme revelan su postura comunicativa; va dirigido a un público lo más general posible. Para recrear las escenas de la invasión, en territorio real, se utiliza una dramaturgia de efecto de corte muy profesional. La acción militar, mediante un montaje precisamente calculado, muestra una dureza ascendente; emana la sugestividad cruel del acto sobrecogedor, rindiendo los cineastas tributo a dispositivos estereotipados en la recepción de los productos de pantalla. El espectador se cree llevado al preludio de una de las tantas teleseries policiales para ir descubriendo sucesivamente que el método es retorcerle el arma al que pretende dominar también los modelos de lenguaje audiovisual vigentes.

Luego emerge el estrato real, lo que descarta cualquier desenlace melodramático. Casi sin que nos demos cuenta entramos en materia auténtica – el despegue del helicóptero de guerra se ve tal como sucedió; están los familiares y vecinos desconcertados, y comienza la indagación documental en el contexto empírico de los hechos. Encuentra su principio básico en el testimonio y su principal forma en la entrevista de familiares, amigos y simpatizantes del Comité. Las secuencias a continuación despejan un capítulo de represión civil del FBI y de otras fuerzas paramilitares del gobierno estadounidense contra la isla de una serie de incógnitas, restaurando una parte del pasado inmediato. Nuclean – a través de voces auténticas, de ambientes y artefactos que tampoco dejan de testificar –

[12]Véase Marcos PASTRANA FUENTES, "Ante el juez la 'prueba' del FBI", en *Claridad,* San Juan, Puerto Rico, del 8 al 14 de julio de 1988, p. 3.– El gobierno de los Estados, a su vez, había gastado, hasta mitades del año 88, alrededor de 15 millones de dólares para poner en marcha y dar auge el juicio contra los independentistas boricuas. Véase ibídem.

un sistema de acciones cubiertas para vigilar a protagonistas y simpatizantes del movimiento amedrentado. La tensión dramática, ahora, nace del enfoque esmerado hacia lo cotidiano, lo microhumano si se quiere, que aparece minado por intromisión foránea.

Los mecanismos que desde la metrópoli – del Gran Jurado Federal, por ejemplo – obran en contra de militantes políticos boricuas tanto dentro de Estados Unidos como en territorio isleño y que se manejan prácticamente a partir de la fundación del Estado Libre Asociado, revelan a su vez una perfecta subversividad. Los cineastas dejan al descubierto que los arrestados ya figuraban de antemano entre las víctimas de la sutil penetración: sus hogares eran intervenidos electrónicamente, sus nombres encabezaban listas de miles de nombres de luchadores y simpatizantes que el FBI había elaborado.

La mentalidad de los supervisores de criminalizar la resistencia política está dando coyunturas al querer domar al pueblo de la pequeña isla. Sobran los antecedentes en que han sido tomadas medidas de anticipación a la guerra, lo que 'permite' hasta ausentar parcialmente la propia legislatura, por ejemplo La Ley General de Grabaciones. Resulta ser la justicia imperial misma que teje las redes de caza alrededor de sus blancos favoritos. Su noción de terrorismo es singularmente amplia, excluyendo sólo al que guarda la "seguridad nacional". De un lado se acusa a los arrestados de colaborar con la resistencia armada, los Macheteros,[13] a los que se adjudica la responsabilidad del robo de 7 millones de dólares. Por otro lado, no se abstiene de calificar de subversivo a toda una parte de la vida pública, incluyendo comunidades, organizaciones políticas y culturales, libros, revistas, periódicos, cintas magnetofónicas, material de computación. A partir de la fisonomía de la agresión queda expuesto también el estilo de acusar al director de la revista de izquierda *Análisis Político,* el abogado sindical Jorge Farinacci, arrestado y hoy en libertad bajo fianza, de haber dirigido las acciones de los Macheteros contra recintos militares y propiedad norteamericana. La estratagema probada es conspirar contra la "conspiración" antes que golpearla. El castigo del supuesto crimen se dirige contra nada menos que el anhelo de activar el pueblo boricua, que Juan Antonio Corretjer denominara como "el delito imposible".[14] Desde

[13]Idéntica acusación afrontan los prisioneros de guerra boricuas capturados en Estados Unidos en 1980 y en 1983 (entre ellos Alejandrina Torres, símbolo de integridad patriótica), con la diferencia de que se los vincula con las "Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional" (FALN) que operan en territorio continental. Véase "Alejandrina Torres: Prisionera de Guerra", en *Rojo,* del 23 al 29 de junio de 1988, p. 15.

[14]En un comunicado de prensa, publicdo en *Claridad* un año después de la invasión, el "Ejército Popular Boricua–Macheteros" declara que la militancia de los arrestados y las acciones de Macheteros poseen un contexto común sin ser

su perfil analítico la película acentúa el caso de los agredidos como un problema político que cohibe el libre ejercicio de derechos civiles básicos.

A la indagación testimonial sigue el análisis de toque objetivizador donde, insertándose en las tradiciones del documental histórico en América Latina y en el mundo, los cineastas reúnen documentos de archivo sobre las pugnas en pro y en contra de la independencia, dejando en claro el papel estratégico-militar que le es concedido a Puerto Rico por su vecino norteño. Mientras el inicio de *30 de agosto* va dirigido a la emoción del espectador, luego se pasa a promover una reflexión distanciadora, procedimiento que presupone elementos de diversos géneros del cine.

El compromiso del filme pretende ser democratizador primero por su estrategia comunicativa, y además por el desenlace que se abre al público. Ahí la perspectiva artística se agrega a la del movimiento de ciudadanos y organizaciones de respaldo al Comité. La cámara acompaña la marcha de protesta contra la represión el 30 de agosto de 1986. La última toma refuerza simbólicamente los argumentos. Enfocando una calle cualquiera de San Juan se muestra gente en caminata diaria; la letra superpuesta dice "terroristas". En el fondo, se insinúa, la problemática concierne a todos los ciudadanos por igual.

El filme mismo, destacándose como obra de alta tensión artística, es historia viva. Entra en distribución a mitades de 1987, cuando se agudiza el procesamiento de los damnificados.

Las copias que el Comité comienza a financiar se prestan para ser proyectadas o en 16 milímetros o como videocassette. De tal modo se quiso garantizar al docudrama un amplio alcance en los medios de difusión no comercial, poniéndolo a disposición de individuos, de instituciones, de organismos sociales. Los precios de venta de las respectivas copias responden a una diversidad de condiciones. La cinta de 16 milímetros cuesta $ 750, por el videocassette NTSC 3/4" se cobra $ 175, VHS y Beta se vende por $ 100.

Cabe hacer un paréntesis con vista a los debates culturales. Al asumir el poder en Puerto Rico el "Partido Nuevo Progresista" en 1976, se proclamó oficialmente el concepto de una llamada "cultura universal". Sincretismo anglo-hispano, renovada versión del puente entre las dos culturas del nuevo mundo – no deja de acechar el peligro, como Tomás Blanco formulara ya en 1935, "de eternizarnos en un cocktail de mediocridades" donde resuena levemente la tónica 'monroeana'. Como respuesta crítica a tal modelo, promover culturas "cerradas" o de "conservación" resultaría exóticamente inútil. La película *30 de agosto* presta un aporte

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directamente vinculados la una con las otras. Véase "Comunicado de prensa del Ejército Popular Boricua–Macheteros", en *Claridad,* del 31 de octubre al 6 de noviembre de 1986, p. 2.

conceptual. Cultura nacional y cultura de resistencia poseen sus dinamismos cambiantes. En su meollo se mueven sujetos que no tienen por qué cerrarse ante lo universal, al contrario. El desafío radica en que sus actividades promuevan una cultura de "apropiación",[15] es decir, que extraigan de su condición alternativa el fermento de construir sobre una base propia, aprovechándose de todos los recursos posibles y, ante todo, que no se inhiban ante el arsenal discursivo y tecnológico que tantas veces es desatado en su contra. Es ahí que surge la práctica de la 'utopía modesta'.

Parece que la fecha 30 de agosto se transformó en un sinónimo popular. En él está inmerso lo que se ha venido en llamar "la segunda invasión armada norteamericana de Puerto Rico",[16] igual que su sorprendente resultado. El Comité de Amigos y Familiares logró concertar un mosaico representativo de todas las clases sociales y de casi toda tendencia política en favor de un movimiento por la justicia y los derechos humanos. Comprende las organizaciones patrióticas, el sector sindical, religioso, cultural como también el feminista. Constituye, según José Gil de Lamadrid, un frente patriótico amplio[17] que evidencia – los protagonistas de la autodeterminación nacional aumentaron su fuerza de consenso. A las autoridades del palio protector que quisieron sentar un precedente histórico, se les salió el tiro por la culata. Eso no significa que la labor del cuerpo de respaldo a los acusados – apoyándose en campañas públicas de la comunidad puertorriqueña que abarcan los mismos Estados Unidos (Nueva York, Boston, Hartford, California, Chicago, Detroit) – se haya resuelto. El tribunal de Hartford sigue pendiente de las oficinas centrales de Washington D. F. El despliegue de histeria imperial y de ataques prefabricados ha cesado relativamente. Hacer desaparecer el caso detrás de las maniobras judiciales ya no es posible. La temporada no justifica ilusiones. Los 'lagartos' están todavía lejos de poder competir con los 'dinosaurios'. Escribe el cineasta argentino Octavio Getino en 1984 que, paradójicamente, la aparición del video en América Latina "no se asoció a la tentativa de democratización comunicacional – fue simultáneo a la contraofensiva autoritaria y dictatorial en buena parte del continente –, sino al afán consumista de algunos sectores sociales privilegiados, a la tentativa de abaratar los costos de la publicidad de las empresas transnacionales o locales, y en mucho menor medida, a las inquietudes de algunos

[15]Véase Fernando BIRRI, "De un Block de notas sobre cultura, represión, resistencia", en: Jorge GIANNONI, *Fernando Birri – pionero y peregrino*, Buenos Aires (Editorial Contrapunto) 1987, p. 126.

[16]José GIL DE LAMADRID, "Movimiento del 30 de agosto", en: *Claridad*, del 4 al 10 de setiembre de 1987, p. 12.

[17]Véase ibid.

sectores públicos en el terreno de la educación y la capacitación".[18] El tiempo transcurrido desde entonces nos provee de más conclusiones. No suele ser la especificidad del medio comunicativo la que incorpora una fertilidad cultural propia sino el proyecto social o político de que él forma parte. Lo 'alternativo' radica en estos proyectos que – en el mejor de los casos – ganen el respaldo popular.[19]

Hoy en día más que antes las comunidades en América Latina precisan de recursos comunicacionales; *30 de agosto* lo muestra a su manera. "Los militantes de la imagen" en América Latina, según ha expuesto Fernando Birri, deben ser militantes de la vida ya que, "como magma bajo los óxidos de Momotombos",[20] subyacen dos aspiraciones históricas: "el derecho de todos a la vida: al estómago de la vida, a la dignidad del estómago. Y el derecho a la imagen: a la dignidad de la imagen, el derecho de todos a satisfacer nuestra hambre de imagen",[21] dicho ultrasintéticamente.

Reparando en la función del filme se le puede entender como convocatoria audiovisual. Su audacia artística lo sitúa al lado de los notables rendimientos que ha generado el documentalismo del Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano. Su propósito vincula lo inminente y lo pragmático con la idea de una sensibilización mayor. Termina la hoja informativa que distribuyen los cineastas antes de cada proyección:

> De amplia utilidad para conocer el estado del movimiento independentista en Puerto Rico, recomendamos el documental para aplicaciones escolares, universitarias y de educación popular en toda América Latina; es también propicio para ser presentado en TV.

Se está manteniendo en un obstinado presente que algunos ya prefieren encerrar en el país del olvido: una resistencia culturalmente ágil de los puertorriqueños ante su asimilación a una modernidad política cuyos protagonistas no vacilan apoyarse en el autoritarismo.

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[18]Octavio GETINO, "La importancia del video en el desarrollo nacional", en: *Video, cultura nacional y subdesarrollo (ponencias presentadas en el VI Festival Internacional de Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano,* La Habana, Diciembre de 1984), México D. F. (Filmoteca UNAM) 1985, p. 28.

[19]Véase ibid. p. 34.

[20]"Acta de nacimiento de la Escuela de Cine y TV en San Antonio de los Baños, Cuba, sobrenombrada 'de Tres Mundos' ", en: Jorge GIANNONI, op. cit., p. 64.

[21]Ibid.

IV

Ideologies and Literature

LOUISE BENNETT: BETWEEN SUBCULTURES

Michael Hoenisch (Berlin)

Louise Bennett, deeply rooted in the local folk culture of Jamaica, has won wide recognition in the anglophone Caribbean as well as in other parts of the English speaking world. In 1983 she received an honorary doctorate from the University of the West Indies. She was at the top of a list of the most outstanding women in Jamaica when Carl Stone carried out a poll in Kingston in June 1988.[1] Her record *Yes M'Dear: Miss Lou Live* (1983), which was recorded live at the Lyric Theatre in London, captures the power of her performance and the enthusiastic response she evokes in her international audience. Although there is, of course, no comparison with music superstars like Bob Marley, as a poet and performer of her own work she is an international literary celebrity.

When she began to appear at free concerts, festivals and poetry readings in Jamaica in the late 1930ies, published poems about topical events in the *Daily Gleaner* newspaper, and broadcast prose monologues in local radio programs, the Jamaican public perceived her as an entertainer, versatile and skilled, but of limited local and cultural appeal. This image was shaped to a large degree by the fact that she used Jamaican "dialect", or creole, in her poems and prose; spoke about everyday experiences of common people; placed her work in the context of folk culture; and chose orality as her medium of expression. The books she published in the early 1940ies did not change this impression, but reinforced it. Like her other works, *Jamaica Dialect Verses* (1942), *Jamaican Humor in Dialect* (1943), *Anancy Stories and Poems in Dialect* (1944) could be accepted, as Rhonda Cobham points out,[2] as collections of folk material by a developing middle class, which felt no longer threatened by the lower classes and therefore could permit a certain curiosity about them. For decades, Louise Bennett was caught in the role of an entertaining performer in the medium of folk culture. Like Claude McKay's dialect poems earlier in the century, her work could be perceived as a direct expression of a somewhat exotic "native" culture, which remained outside the sphere of what

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[1] *Jamaica Bulletin* 30 (Oct.1988), 52; 32% of all respondents named Louise Bennett.

[2] Rhonda COBHAM, *The Creative Writer and West Indian Society* (Diss., 1981), pp. 158-168.

was considered literature. This patronizing view of her work, shaped by an implicit acceptance of the dominant culture of the colonizing 'motherland', is illustrated by the fact that she was not included in the early literary projects which began to assert an independent Jamaican culture since the late 1930ies. Her poetry did not appear in the volumes of Focus, which were published in 1943, 1948, 1956 and 1960. *The Independence Anthology of Jamaican Literature* (1962) did not place her contribution in the section for poetry.[3] In her interview with Dennis Scott, Louise Bennett emphasized retrospectively her awareness of these exclusionary policies and attributed them to the stigma attached to the use of creole. At the same time she rejected firmly the label of "professional entertainer of the middle classes" and claimed to speak for "the people" as a whole.[4]

A new perspective on her work emerged during the shift of the socio-political equilibrium and the cultural opening of the 1960ies and 1970ies: What had been considered as a limitation of her work was now perceived as an asset. The cultural emancipation of this period could receive her work as an early expression of an autonomous creole culture, which would form the center of an independent national tradition. Her use of dialect was no longer seen as a restriction of her talent;[5] instead, her work and its use of folk elements was welcomed as a sign of the "acceptance of Jamaican culture".[6] No more could one praise her, if praise it is, because she "raised the sing-song patter of the hills and of the towns to an art level acceptable to and appreciated by people from all classes in her country".[7] Now she was claimed for the tradition of "nation language" which preserved and shaped the cultural space for Afro-Caribbean identity through the centuries.[8] In fact, the confrontational cultural model which emerged during this period could be used to point out a different kind of limitation of her work: its lack of realism and its alleged middle class orientation.[9] While critical discussion about Louise Bennett's contribution to Jamaican culture continued,[10] younger poets like Linton

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[3]Mervyn MORRIS, "Introduction" to Louise Bennett, *Selected Poems*, Kingston 1982, p. VIII.

[4]"Bennett on Bennett: Interviewed by Dennis Scott", in *Caribbean Quarterly* 14 (1968), 97-101.

[5]MORRIS, "On Reading Louise Bennett, Seriously", in *Jamaica Journal* 1 (Dec. 1967), 69-74; cf. *Sunday Gleaner*, June 1964, pp. 7, 14, 21, 18.

[6]MORRIS (1982), p. XVIII.

[7]Rex NETTLEFORD, "Introduction" to Louise Bennet, *Jamaica Labrish*, Kingston 1966, p. 9.

[8]Edward K. BRATHWAITE, *History of the Voice*, London/Port of Spain 1984, pp. 26-30.

[9]SCOTT (1968); BRATHWAITE (1984).

[10]Cf. e.g. Lloyd BROWN, "The Oral Tradition: Sparrow and Louise Bennett", in his *West Indian Poetry* (Boston, 1978; London, 1984), pp. 100-117;

Kwesi Johnson, Mutabaruka, Oku Onuora and Michael Smith included her as an important but contradictory predecessor in their project of a radical poetic critique of white capitalist society.

The reception of Louise Bennett's work has been controlled to a large extent by varying interpretations of her uses of Caribbean folk culture. Shifting relations between the dominant traditions of the capitalist centers – the United Kingdom and to a certain degree the USA – and the culture of the poor at the periphery; the changing equilibrium of class and race forces within Jamaican society; and the commercial exploitation of decolonizing local cultures on international markets are powerful influences on the process of reception, and Louise Bennett was highly aware of them. In fact, a promising approach to her work is the attempt to understand her poetry and prose as the result of a literary strategy which tries to create a symbolic creole community within the context of these powerful pressures. The creole culture projected by her work does not simply reproduce an existing folk culture, although it is deeply immersed in it, but can be understood as a complex construct which should provide a space for identity and cultural freedom within – not separate from – the dominant culture. In a rough analogy to the continuum of the creole language in Jamaica one can perceive in Bennett's work a continuum of creole culture. However, the appearance of coherence should not obscure the diversity of subcultural elements which are included – or not included – in Bennett's complex poetic project.

The most noticeable aspect of Bennett's vision of a symbolic creole community is the ambiguous self-designation of her poetry as 'dialect verse'. The term 'dialect' implies the perspective of the dominant culture of the center, from whose position other language forms at the periphery appear as local varieties, used only by a limited number of people and lacking the social prestige and normative power of the language of the educated elite. When Louise Bennett began to write, dialect was still strongly associated with illiteracy and lack of formal education in general.[11] Therefore, dialect signalized popular entertainment, not serious art. Louise Bennett was, of course, perfectly aware of this situation and of the price she paid for her position.[12] In the context of powerful upheavals in the Caribbean

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Carolyn COOPER, "Noh Lickle Twang: An Introduction to the Poetry of Louise Bennett", in *World Literature Written in English* 17:1 (April, 1978), 317-327; COOPER, "Proverb as Metaphor in the Poetry of Louise Bennett", in *Jamaica Journal* 17:2 (May 1984), 21-24; Michael HOENISCH, "Louise Bennett", in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: African and Caribbean Literature,* eds. B. Lindfors and R. Sander, forthcoming; MORRIS (1983), "Louise Bennett", in *Fifty Caribbean Writers,* ed. P.C. Dance (New York, 1986), 35-45.

[11] COBHAM, *ibid.*

[12] "Bennett on Bennett" (1968).

in the late 1930ies, profound changes seemed imminent, accompanied by a strong thrust toward cultural independence. The journal *Public Opinion* and the literary magazine *Focus* demonstrated to a middle class public the creative possibilities of an indigenous Jamaican culture. The ambiguity of this project is demonstrated by Roger Mais, who was closely associated with this process of cultural transformation. In his work dialect lost its association with comic effects or entertainment, and was used for serious, in fact tragic purposes, but in a limited way. When he introduced the Kingston ghetto as the collective protagonist of two of his novels,[13] creole appears occasionally in the form of the quoted direct speech of the people: enclosed in a narrative competing with English and American models.[14] The writers close to *Focus* and *Public Opinion* expressed their position of cultural independence in language or thought patterns similar to those of their English contemporaries. Louise Bennett, who shared their position in many ways, was isolated at that time by her commitment to the oral tradition and the creole language. Bennett maintained the position of 'dialect author', which appeared as a very modest one at the time, with remarkable strength and self-confidence as part of her poetic strategy to construct a symbolic creole community. Distinct, but not separate from the dominant public discourse – whose structure was shaped by European sources, a traditional form of 'the public' and transmission by print media – she adressed, and helped to create, a public discourse accessible to the common man or woman and modeled on oral communication. The range and flexibility of this subcultural public discoure as well as the effort to maintain its integrity and coherence are the subject of some of her best poems.

In the poem "Dry-Foot Bwoy"[15] the young man's claim to a status beyond the local community because of his visit abroad is undermined by the female speaker and the chorus of women she adresses. The "bwoy's" English accent is not accepted as a sign of cultural superiority but ridiculed and lamented as a symptom of alienation from his true self and from the creole community. The speaker is not impressed, but considers the boy's language a defect and a sickness which evokes pity: "Me start fi feel so sorry fi / De po bad-lucky soul". With his creole language the boy has lost his happiness: "Wha happen to them sweet Jamaica / Joke yuh use fi pop?". The community, however, does not give him up as lost. By means of mockery they try to shame him out of his inauthenticity. And with

[13] *The Hills Were Joyful Together* (London 1953); *Brother Man* (London 1954).

[14] HOENISCH, "Symbolic Politics: Perceptions of the Early Rastafari Movement", in *The Massachussets Review* 29:3 (Fall 1988), pp. 432-449.

[15] Louise BENNETT, *Selected Poems*, op.cit., pp. 1-2.

various verbal tactics: addressing him as "Mary boy", reminding him of his true name "Cudjoe" and emphasizing his enjoyment of "Nana's" food, the speaker evokes through these names the African or Maroon tradition and recalls the boy's happy childhood; draws him back into the sphere of creole culture, and, at the same time, asserts the coherence of the community:

Me seh, 'You understand me, yaw!
No yuh name Cudjoe Scoop?
Always visit Nana kitchen an
Gi laugh fi gungoo soup!

Similarly, in the poem "No lickle Twang"[16] the ironic complaint about the lack of an American accent satirizes the effects of Americanization from the position of an unintimidated creole perspective. In these and other poems, creole is shown to have the function of deflating the claims to superiority of the colonizing powers and asserting, in contrast, a self-confident community of discourse in Jamaica. The standard language of England appears, e.g. in the poem "Bans a Killin",[17] as nothing more than one dialect among many. The cultures of the 'motherland' and its American successor are not rejected with hostility; but they are taken down from their elevated position, stripped of their claim to privilege and normative power, democratized, and incorporated in the vision of a pluralistic universe of fraternal cultures: a utopia which includes creole culture not as a local deviation or colonial regression but almost as an equal.

Louise Bennett's vision of an autonomous creole culture draws boundaries in the direction not only of the colonizing foreign cultures but also the various indigenous forms of domination and false authoritarian postures. One of the major thrusts of her poetry is directed against the upper ranks of the social hierarchy, against government, representatives of power or status, and pretenders of cultural superiority. Satire and irony deflate their claims to eminence. In her concept of 'the people', the everyday needs of the common man or woman are emphasized in opposition to public discourse. The strength of 'the people' manifests itself in their withholding of deference from the usurpers of authority. However, the deeply rooted anti-authoritarian protest of the ghetto poor, which has been expressed by dub poets since the 1960ies, does not exist among Bennett's creole community either: there, populist leaders, who are perceived to speak for 'the people', have an important and highly respected position, regardless of their party affiliation. Alexander Bustamante, in particular, is elevated to the position of saviour from all kinds of troubles.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

His absence is lamented in "Deares Chief",[18] because without his "magnet power" the people tend to go astray and follow "dem / Back-to-Africa fool", the Rastafarians. Bustamante's mobilization of the poor is celebrated as a clever move to make the West India Royal Commission pay attention to the needs of 'the people' after the 1938 uprising.[19] And the self-confident servant girl, who browbeats the potential employer, signals her independence through her demand to go dancing every night with the "Busta Union bwoys".[20] But when Bustamante's Jamaica Labour Party is swept into power in 1944 and Norman Manley, the founder of the People's National Party, did not even gain a seat in the House of Representatives, this political defeat is lamented as the dethronement of "me King"; the people are criticized because they did not recognize their saviour: "Jamaica people / Wha dis oonoo do? / Leff out de man weh bun an work / An fight fe save oonoo?"[21] However, officials who lack the populist appeal of these leaders are turned away at the boundaries of the symbolic space occupied by Bennett's creole community.

When the government, represented by the census taker, enters the house of a poor woman in the poem "Census",[22] this is rejected as an invasion of her own space and as an interference with her everyday life. But the invader is beaten back without noticing it, not with force but with Anancy tactics, while the defender not only maintains her independence but also derives pleasure from it. She gives the government man misleading fictions instead of facts, enjoys her own cunning and, possibly, gets some sexual satisfaction from the deceived collector of statistical data. Even when Bennett's poems do not deal directly with the pretentions of the powerful and the successful survival of the common man, her work has a political dimension much more significant than the explicit and often dated topical commentary. The oral quality of her poetry, most directly expressed through the dramatic monolog of a creole speaker, evokes the talk of local communities, where events and people can be judged by personal observation. The public discourse of a creole subculture is constantly brought into play against the dominant public discourse of the powerful and erodes their claim to universal validity. Underneath the surface of laughter, her poetry poses a challenge to the cultural hegemony of the established elites.

Race is an essential element in Louise Bennett's symbolic creole territory. Mervyn Morris has referred to the fact that pride in being black is

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[18] Louise BENNETT, *Jamaica Labrish*, op.cit., pp. 146-147.
[19] "De Royal Commotion", *Jamaica Labrish*, pp. 117- 119.
[20] "Seeking a Job", *ibid.*, pp. 191-192.
[21] "Wat a Dickans", *ibid.*, pp. 137-138.
[22] *Selected poems*, pp. 23-24.

one of the central values in her poetry.[23] Before black power movements became visible all over the world, Bennett pursued a calm and persistent course of racial decolonization by resisting the claims of white superiority. Blackness does not have the function of a battle cry in her poem, but it is purged from the stigma of inferiority and inserted in a pluralistic universe on the basis of equality. Black representatives of authority are not exempt from her satire; but 'the people' of her symbolic creole community derive their power of survival from their black tradition in the 'new' world. Bustamante's march of the poor against the Royal Commission gave the speaker of the poem the opportunity for a liberating and joyful laughter because a momentary reversal of the racial hierarchy took place: "Fe see 'ow nayga man dah-spre himself / Eena wite people hotel".[24] Jamaica is taken out of its position as colonial back yard and redefined as black home in the poem "Nayga Yard".[25] In Bennett's perspective the social revolt of the late 1930ies reveals the potential of the black community. The poem "Strike Day"[26] translates the revolutionary actions of the masses into the experience of an unemployed black servant girl. Her narration of a temporary liberation from white rule unfolds as an oral report of the strike events against an initial moderating voice:

> Shet up yoh mout mah meck me talk,
> How nayga reign teday,
> How we lick wite man till tem beg
> An shout an start fe pray.
> So me gwan bad just like de res,
> An never fraid at all,
> For nayga was a-reign teday,
> An wite man got a fall!

The voice of fear and hesitation is overcome by an assertion of boldness and pleasure about the temporary reversal of the power hierarchy. The emphasis is not so much on the practical consequences of the strike actions as it is on the emergence of a new image of blacks: free of fear, passivity and powerlessness. By appearing to quote the woman striker herself, the poem undermines and reverses the printed versions of the strike events and asserts the experience of those usually excluded from the white middle-class public. The narrator, her friend Maggy and the rest of the crowd expropriate public transportation – "We drive pon tram car free of cos' / Dis like is fe we own" – and, at the same time, the dominant public discourse. The dramatic monolog reveals the self- confident

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[23] MORRIS (1982), p. XVIII.
[24] *Jamaica Labrish*, pp. 115-116.
[25] *Selected poems*, pp. 102-104.
[26] *Jamaica Labrish*, pp. 115-116.

perspective of the creole speaker: black, female, rooted in the creole community of the poor, and deriving pleasure from an assertion of liberty which, although temporary, may be seen as a sign of future changes.

Louise Bennett's emphasis on black self-confidence may appear more inclusive than it is on second thought. It differs, on the one hand, from traditional European concepts of labor organization, which were introduced into the Caribbean in the 1930ies. Arthur Lewis' Fabian interpretation of the 1938 revolt, e.g., tries to exclude the "over-militant" in order to make workers accept "trade union discipline" and the leadership of "sober responsible men".[27] In this concept there is no place for the Afro-American tradition in the Caribbean: "They have lost most of their African heritage, assimilating the ideas of their white rulers, and adapting themselves to European institutions".[28] While Bennett's symbolic strategy of constructing a continuum of black folk culture is immune against such white magic attempts of cooptation into European traditions, it resists, on the other hand, also those contemporary impulses which project a symbolic Africa in the Caribbean.

The Rastafari Movement, as far as it appears in her poetry, is satirized as a deficient rival project of black autonomy. The antagonistic and separatist stance of the symbolic reversal of the spiritual, racial and class conditions, which various Rasta groups initiated in the 1930ies, was incompatible with Bennett's vision of cultural pluralism. The colony of Jamaica may be redefined in her poetry as "nayga yard", but the achievements of blacks, which justify the claim on the island as home of the black people, are measured by the criteria of the system as it exists. Nothing could be more alien to the radicalism of the early Rastas. For them, Africa was the ancient and future home of blacks – Jamaica was a temporary exile. For Bennett, Jamaica was the appropriate place to fulfill the potential of its black people, and the return to Africa was a ridiculous phantasy.[29] In particular she attacks the attempts of the early Rastas to reverse the slavery tradition of male powerlessness by constructing an image of masculine strength and dominance. In her poem "Pinnacle"[30] which refers to Leonard Howell's controversial commune, she deconstructs this image with devastating effects. The first stanza sets the stage for the spectacle of reducing Rasta men to the smallest possible format:

> Mass John come back from Pinnicle
> Yuh want see him head Mumma

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[27] *Labour in the West Indies,* London / Port of Spain 1977; first pub. 1938, p. 40.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 12.

[29] Cf. e.g. "Back to Africa", *Selected Poems,* pp. 104-105.

[30] *Jamaica Labrish,* pp. 121- 123.

Yuh kean tell ef it meck o'hair
Or out o' constab-macka.

Seen in the moment of defeat, the Rasta man is made the object of a critical female discourse: Here the symbol of natural growth and lionlike strength looses all of its magical aura and appears as a bizarre deviation from everyday normality. The Rasta man's dream of "paradise" is contrasted with the humiliating presence and the prospect of "jail". He is not a proud, fearless and upright figure but has to "crawl pon him belly like worm" and lie down in front of the woman he had treated badly before:

She say she hooden fegive him
'Cep him go dung pon him knee,
She get har wish, far him da-lidung now
Flat-flat pon him belly.

The emphasis on lying down points to his degradation and, together with the repeated references to his belly and to crawling, reverses the cliché of female weakness derived from Bible interpretations: an image which the Rasta man might have associated with women in general and with Eve and the snake in paradise in particular is applied to himself. The Rasta project of building an outpost of Africa in the middle of Babylon is totally destoyed through the power of female discourse.

The realism and strength of women and their free communication are, in fact, close to the center of Bennett's vision of a vital creole community. The speaker and the chorus who shame "dry-foot bwoy" back into the community where he has his real roots, the cunning victor over the census taker, the striker who takes over the streets of Kingston, the critic of the dream of Africa, the destroyer of the masculine image of Rastas, the shouters of street cries, the participants in a continuous communal discourse: each one of them is a version of the female persona which is perhaps the most characteristic feature of Bennett's poems. Her work is based on the strength and verbal skill of a women's tradition, which infuses its ambiguity and complexity into her poetic project. The poem "Jamaica Oman"[31] celebrates the tradition of female survival power since the period of Nanny and Maroon resistance, but reduces its modern scope to the victory in school competitions. The feminist emancipation movements in the First World – "Oman lib bruck out / Over foreign lan" – seem late and superfluous in comparison with the achievements of Caribbean women, who are supposed to have been liberated from the beginning. However, their liberation had to be maintained by cunning – "Jamaica oman cunny, sah!" – and realized through the manipulation of unsuspecting men. Although women are supposed to be on top, their happiness

[31] *Selected Poems*, pp. 21-23.

is still deeply buried, as the proverb has proclaimed for generations: " 'Oman luck deh a dungle' ". Real happiness is in an uncertain future: "Oman luck mus come!" In the meantime, the impressive achievement of women, and its limit, consists in the successful organization of everyday life, the stoic will to survive behind a mask of laughter, and the maintenance of a space for female identity and for the life of the community.

Louise Bennett's syncretistic effort fuses various elements of folk culture into a vision of communal survival under severe pressure. One of her best poems, "Dutty Tough",[32] asserts the potential of the community more indirectly than others, but perhaps more powerfully. The poem is a complaint about hard times and the effort to survive. What appears to be, in the center of the poem, only a catalog of prosaic everyday items and an indirect –sometimes humorous – expression of pain about their rising prices, in fact constitutes a community of sufferers:

Salfish gawn up, mackerel gawn up,
Pork an beef gawn up same way,
An when rice and butter ready
Dem just go pon holiday.

The poem does not state explicitely who the sufferers are, but the perspective on details of food and marketing implies as a collective subject those who organize everyday survival among the poor. The poem is framed by proverbs, which have a generalizing and metaphorical function:[33]

Sun a shine but tings no bright;
Doah pot a bwile, bickle no nuff;
River flood but water scarce, yaw;
Rain a fall but dutty tough.

Scarcity exists in nature, too; but it is contrasted with abundance, as it is not in the catalog of everyday privations. The paradoxa of these two stanzas point to an unnatural situation: they lead up to, but withold the question about what caused the ominous contradiction between abundance and scarcity, and what can be done about it. Bob Marley's song "Them belly full but we hungry"[34] quotes the same proverbs: "A rain a fall but the dirt it tough / A pot a cook but the food no 'nough". The suffering of the poor is expressed in a condensed and pointed style. But the sufferers do not remain passive. Hunger can be transformed into angry mass action: "A hungry mob is a angry mob". And there is the perspective of a total break with a reality of suffering: the dancers and believers follow the promise of freedom from want and of salvation.

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 25- 26.
[33] Cf. COOPER (1984).
[34] *Natty Dread* (LP), Bob Marley and the Wailers (Island Records, 1974).

Bennett's poem does not point to these or to other specific alternatives. Neither does it plead for acceptance of these pressures. It conjures up threats of reality and, by implication, the power of 'the people' to survive them as a coherent community.

Louise Bennett's concept of folk culture mediates skillfully between the colonial periphery and the colonizing center, the weak and the powerful, the poor and the rich, but it has a specific perspective. It is centered in a certain type of oral discourse: creole, female, democratic to some extent. It stresses an indigenous black tradition and rejects black self-hatred but, at the same time, excludes antagonistic strategies of black power or symbolic strategies of black salvation from white dominance. Her construct of a symbolic creole community organizes some subcultural elements in a utopian vision of cultural pluralism within the existing social and cultural frame work: but at the expense of a wider utopian vision which would reach beyond the violence of racism, the devastations of exploitation and all forms of alienation.

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LA REVUE "SOCIAL" ET LES MINORISTES. ESPACE LITTÉRAIRE ET MODERNITÉ CULTURELLE DANS LE CUBA DES ANNÉES VINGT[1]

Heike Malinowski (Berlin)

La problématique de la spécificité et du développement de la littérature latinoaméricaine ainsi que de ses rapports avec la littérature européenne est généralement traversée par des questions qui ne concernent pas seulement l'œuvre d'art mais tout le procès de production, de distribution et de réception des textes littéraires dans cette région. Cette approche principalement sociologique met l'accent sur les déficits de la société littéraire en Amérique Latine, sur l'inexistence d'institutions indispensables à l'épanouissement d'un espace public littéraire. A l'exception des pays du Cône Sud, du Mexique et du Brésil, ces institutions (maisons d'édition, librairies etc.) sont en Amérique Latine totalement sous-développées. En plus, l'analphabétisme et le plurilinguisme empêchent la formation d'un public critique (Cándido 1975:174pp). Certes ces arguments sont plutôt schématiques et peu nuancés, ils se rapportent surtout aux différences régionales et sont présentés chaque fois qu'il s'agit d'accentuer sur le sous-développement de la production culturelle en Amérique Latine et de son rôle possible dans le procès de décolonisation de la région. Jusqu'ici cette argumentation n'a pas été exposée de manière systématique et ses prémisses ont été rarement discutées.[2]

Les modes d'analyse de la littérature latinoaméricaine qui fonctionnent sur la base de dichotomies comme dépendance/indépendance, périphérie/centre, développement/sous-développement mesurent le degré de dépassement des structures culturelles héritées de la colonisation par la création ou non d'institutions qui correspondent à celles de la société littéraire en Europe.[3] L'universalité de cette dernière n'est pas mise en ques-

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[1] Ce texte est le résumé d'un chapitre de ma thèse de doctorat *Kulturbegriff und literarische Öffentlichkeit in Cuba (1920-1980)* (en préparation).

[2] Exception faite de certains travaux publiés pendant les années 80 qui montrent un intérêt croissant pour cette problématique, voir DILL 1986; FLEISCHMANN 1983; PERUS 1982.

[3] Pour Emir Rodríguez Monegal, la littérature latinoaméricaine proprement dite débute seulement dans les années 40. Les institutions littéraires classiques, c'est à dire des maisons d'édition efficaces, un large public et une large ins-

tion, encore que l'accent soit mis sur deux caractéristiques principales des sociétés latinoaméricaines: premièrement, l'importance de la ville comme espace d'intersection entre la colonie et la métropole et ainsi comme lieu de la civilisation, et deuxièmement les conséquences d'une modernisation tardive (seulement à la fin du XIXème siècle). La production littéraire en Amérique Latine en est doublement marquée: Il existe d'une part une opposition systématique entre écriture et oralité et d'autre part une différenciation au au sein même du champ littéraire. La production et la réception de textes se font dans un espace géographique et social caractérisé par l'existence de deux cultures d'origine différente: une culture citadine dominante, d'origine européenne, et la culture populaire traditionnelle, d'origine africaine ou indienne. Cette problématique est toujours présente dans le discours littéraire en ce sens que la culture populaire y est sans cesse interpellée. Cependant, bien que la littérature latinoaméricaine tente depuis la fin du XIXème siècle de réduire la distance entre la culture citadine, européenne et moderne et la culture traditionnelle, entre l'écrit et l'oral, bien qu'elle cherche à résoudre la dichotomie classique entre civilisation et barbarie et à fonder ainsi une identité latinoaméricaine, son développement est directement lié à l'expansion de l'écriture et à la répression de la culture orale.[4]

Bien que l'expansion de l'écriture en Amérique Latine soit liée à la colonisation du sous-continent, les conditions de cette expansion, même après l'independance politique de la région, sont restées longtemps précaires. Elles ne s'améliorent vraiment qu'à la fin du XIXème siècle avec la croissance des villes et le développement des classes moyennes; la diffusion de l'écriture dépasse les frontières de l'élite et atteint un public plus large. Le développement de la presse et la possibilité nouvelle pour les écrivains de se professionaliser (même si cette professionalisation est limitée aux travaux journalistiques) permet la naissance d'un espace littéraire, lieu de réflexion et d'introspection, relativement autonome et indépendant de l'état.

Il n'est pas étonnant que ce procès de modernisation des conditions de production littéraire en Amérique Latine soit surtout analysé par des théoriciens originaires des pays du Cône Sud du continent. La métaphore *ciudad letrada* de l'uruguayen Angel Rama et le concept de ville métropolitaine de l'argentin Alejandro Losada[5] renvoient tous deux à un

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tance critique sont pour lui des critères les plus importants (cf. RODRIGUEZ MONEGAL 1974: I,13.

[4]Pour un analyse plus approfondie de cette problématique cf. l'essai posthume de Angel RAMA, *La ciudad letrada* (1984:84).

[5]Cf. RAMA 1984, en particulier le chapitre sur la *ciudad modernizada* (p. 71-104) qui analyse le rôle de la presse dans la constitution d'un espace public littéraire. Alejandro Losada analyse ce développement comme le passage, dans

modèle d'analyse qui fondent les sociétés littéraires des pays du Cône Sud, c'est-à- dire celles qui se rapprochent le plus des sociétés littéraires européennes, en paradigmes pour tout le continent. C'est en effet dans cette région, dont la modernisation est la plus avancée en Amérique Latine, que les "projets" culturels, les modèles littéraires ont été élaborés le plus systématiquement. La naissance d'une littérature de masse dans cette région pose aussi dans toute son acuité la problématique de la dichotomie entre culture élitaire et culture populaire. Le but de ce texte est d'esquisser, à partir de l'analyse du discours de la revue cubaine *Social,* le procès de formation d'un espace public littéraire et de résolution de la dichotomie culture élitaire/culture populaire dans un pays de la Caraïbe hispanophone des années vingt. Comme nous le montrerons plus loin, la revue *Social,* tout en reflétant l'image d'une société voulant importer à tout prix la modernisation, permet l'explosion à Cuba d'un discours littéraire qui lui-même jette les bases de la modernisation de la culture cubaine.

La revue "Social"

La presse cubaine était dejà durant la première moitié du XIXème siècle et malgré la domination espagnole d'une grande diversité. La publication de la loi sur la liberté de la presse par le *Tribunal Supremo de 1868* et l'assouplissement de la censure *(Ley de Imprenta)* permirent l'explosion de nouvelles publications (comme le *Diario de la Marina, La Discusión, El País, El Triunfo,* etc.) qui sont, certes, toutes publiées à la Havane mais s'adressent contrairement à des revues comme *Cuba Contemporánea* (1913–1927) ou la *Revista Bimestre Cubana* (1911) à un large public. La revue *Cuba y América,* fondée à New York en 1897 par des émigrés cubains, avait même introduit à Cuba le nouveau style des magazines américains, mêlant les actualités nationales et internationales avec des analyses politiques et culturelles (cf. Bueno 1964:128/129).

En 1916, parut une nouvelle publication fondée par Conrado W. Massaguer dont les belles et ironiques caricatures contribueront d'ailleurs à en fonder l'originalité. Dès son premier numéro, *Social,* c'est le nom de cette revue, s'adresse à un large public comme d'ailleurs les revues *Gráficos* (1913), *Bohemia* (1910), *Chic* (1917), *Carteles* (1919) parues au début du siècle. Dans son premier éditorial Social [6] s'adresse ainsi à ses lecteurs:

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la littérature, d'un procès de production coloniale à un procès de production nationale, cf. LOSADA 1983.

[6] *Social* parut mensuellement de 1916-1937/38 avec une pause de deux ans entre septembre 1933 et auguste 1935 après la chute du dictateur Antonio Machado. Le responsable de la colonne littéraire de la revue était l'historien et

> En Cuba, donde somos pesimistas por idiosincrasia, se reciben las ideas nuevas con un gesto de escepticismo, sobre todo si se trata de publicaciones de lujo como ésta. A pesar de ello, hoy aparece animosa y dispuesta a triunfar esta revista cubana que no se atormentará con artículos de política de barrio, ni estadísticas criminales ni crónicas de la Guerra Europea por *croniqueurs* a veinte millas del *fighting front,* ni disertaciones sobre las campañas de Sanidad o la mortalidad de los niños. *Social* será sólo una revista consagrada únicamente a describir en sus páginas por medio del lápiz o de la lente fotográfica, nuestros grandes eventos sociales, notas de arte, crónicas de modas y todo lo que la célebre mutilada, la sublime intérprete de *L'Aiglon* nos llamó hace algún tiempo. (*Social* 1916:1,3).

La sublime interprète dont parle le premier éditorial de *Social* n'est autre que l'actrice française Sarah Bernhardt qui au cours d'un séjour à Cuba avait baptisé les Cubains d'*indios con levita* (Fornet 1979:21). La réaction offensée de la revue trahit la volonté de ses rédacteurs de présenter Cuba comme un pays ouvert à tous les débats modernes et qui ne voulait surtout rien entendre des retombées politiques de la première guerre mondiale ni de la situation du pays quinze ans après son indépendance. *Social* a été conçue comme une revue de mode et s'adressait surtout au public féminin de la bourgeoisie et des classes moyennes qui y trouvaient la chronique des mondanités sociales et politiques, les cancans des clubs mondains comme le *Vedado Tennis Club* et le *Havanna Yacht Club,* les dernières modes parisiennes, les nouveaux trends de l'art décoratif, des publicités pour toute sorte d'articles de consommation provenant principalement des États-Unis.

Malgré le caractère nettement mondain et apolitique de la revue, elle consacrait une bonne partie de ses pages à la littérature. En cela *Social* prolongeait la tradition de la presse cubaine qui depuis le XIXème siècle était le lieu de publication préféré des intellectuels et des écrivains: Julián del Casal a publié certains de ses poèmes dans *La Habana Literaria* qui était jusqu'en 1883 une revue de mode, *La Habana Elegante (Revista interesante para señoras y señoritas). El Figaro,* le porte-parole des modernistes cubains et l'une des revues les plus importantes du Cuba du début du XXème siècle fut d'abord une revue sportive et n'est devenue que plus tard la *revista universal ilustrada* (Bueno 1964:117). Contrairement à ces revues, *Social* n'a jamais perdu son caractère originel, elle a

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juriste Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring (1889-1964), un des journalistes les plus prolifiques et les plus renommés de son temps. Membre et mentor des minoristes, il a contribué de par son engagement et son influence à faire de la revue le porte-parole de l'avant-garde littéraire.

gardé son image un peu frivole et snob. Toutefois elle s'ouvre au début des années vingt de plus en plus à l'avant-garde intellectuelle, à un discours critique qui s'est développé au contact de réalités qui, d'après le premier éditorial de la revue, n'entraient pas dans ses préoccupations, comme par exemple la corruption du gouvernement Zayas, la dictature de Machado à partir de 1925, la dépendance politique et économique du pays envers les États-Unis (Platt-Amendment), le manque de conscience nationale de la bourgeoisie (sic!), l'état de stagnation et le vide des institutions culturelles. *Social* deviendra même le porte-parole de jeunes intellectuels (comme Alejo Carpentier, Juan Marinello, Jorge Mañach) réunis entre 1923 et 1928 autour du *Grupo Minorista.* C'est d'ailleurs ce groupe qui posera les bases d'un large mouvement culturel qui, peu de temps après, débouchera sur la formulation de programmes esthétiques divers (de la *poesía social* à la *poesía pura)* et surtout sur un engagement démonstratif pour une partie de la culture cubaine jusque-là marginalisée, la culture afro-cubaine.[7]

L'image de *Social* est apparemment paradoxale: d'un côté la revue diffuse un mode de vie copié sur l'étranger et principalement sur les États-Unis, de l'autre côté, elle présente à ses lecteurs un discours qui devait déboucher plus tard sur la définition d'une culture nationale. Cependant, si on analyse plus profondément le discours des minoristes, on se rend compte que les deux aspects de la revue *Social* ne s'excluent pas vraiment. En effet, ce n'est pas seulement le public de *Social* qui se voulait moderne mais aussi les intellectuels du *Grupo Minorista.* Il s'agit toutefois de deux approches du moderne. Si le public de *Social* était plutôt intéressé à copier et à assimiler le modèle américain, les intellectuels du groupe minoriste voulaient, en s'ouvrant à l'avant-garde internationale, moderniser la culture cubaine.

Aspects du minorismo dans la revue "Social"

Le Groupe Minoriste ne se laisse pas définir comme un groupe homogène dont le ciment serait un programme esthétique et/ou politique. La publication en 1923 de la fameuse *Protesta de los 13* et la participation des intellectuels à partir des années 1925/1927 à l'opposition à la dictature de Antonio Machado sont certes les signes d'un net engagement politique

[7] Les poésies afrocubaines ont été publiées en partie dans la *Revista de Avance* (1927-1930). Nicolás Guillén publia ses *Motivos de son* en 1930 dans le *Suplemento literario del Diario de la Marina* édité par José Antonio Fernández de Castro.

de la part de ces derniers mais ce mouvement est loin d'être uniforme.[8] Pour certains *minoristas* comme Rubén Martínez Villena, s'engager politiquement signifiait la solidarité avec le mouvement ouvrier cubain, pour d'autres comme Jorge Mañach, l'engagement politique consistait en l'appui de l'opposition conservatrice *(ABC)*. Les poètes du mouvement se baptisaient tout simplement *los nuevos* (comme p.e. José Z. Tallet, R. Martínez Villena, J. Marinello, R. Pedroso): la recherche de nouvelles formes esthétiques n'excluait à priori ni l'engagement politique et social ni le contraire, c'est-à-dire la production d'une poesie pure, libérée de toute référence sociale ou politique. Le groupe minoriste réunit ainsi en lui même toutes les réactions possibles à la situation de crise sociale que connaissait Cuba dans les années vingt. Vingt ans après son indépendance formelle de l'Espagne, la fiévreuse *danza de los millones* (1919/1920)[9] et la dépréssion économique qui s'en suivit témoignent des conséquences fatales de la dépendance politique et économique du pays envers les États-Unis. Ces faits fournissent aussi l'ultime preuve que l'oligarchie cubaine ainsi que les partis politiques n'étaient nullement interessés à changer la situation de dépendance du pays.

Dans le mouvement minoriste, formé surtout de jeunes intellectuels (avocats et journalistes) de la petite et moyenne bourgeoisie de la Havane, s'articule le refus d'une génération d'accepter l'isolement du pays. Pour cette génération l'isolement de Cuba était du au fait que, malgré l'importation massive d'une modernité à l'américaine, l'idéologie dominante continuait à imposer la culture européenne et espagnole comme *alta cultura;* le discours officiel excluait ainsi autant l'avant-garde européenne que les traditions culturelles cubaines. Les minoristes *(minoría)* tout en faisant partie de l'élite cubaine se présentaient comme le porte-parole de la *mayoría* et voulaient justement réaliser un projet que la bourgeoisie

[8]Le groupe n'exista pas plus longtemps que quatre années (1923-1927); il se caractérisa par une organisation statuaire informelle. D'abord une *tertulia literaria* – en vue de la publication entre autres d'une anthologie de la poésie moderne (*La poesía moderna en Cuba,* éd. José Antonio Fernández de Castro/Félix Lizaso, Madrid 1926) – le groupe se manifesta pour la première fois publiquement en 1923. Sous la direction de Rubén Martínez Villena, il publia une protestation contre le régime corrompu de Zayas: "Por primera vez en nuestra República los intelectuales colectivamente, y alejados por completo de la política profesional, partidarista y utilitaria, tomaban, no reclamaban, una posición en la vida pública cubana" (Emilio ROIG DE LEUCHSENRING dans *Social* 1929:9,p. 24). Les membres du groupe étaient parmi d'autres Mariano Brull, Alejo Carpentier, José Antonio Fernández de Castro, Félix Lizaso, Jorge Mañach, Juan Marinello, Rubén Martínez Villena, José Z. Tallet.

[9]La chute de la production sucrière en Europe permit à l'industrie sucrière cubaine de réaliser de fantastiques profits sur le marché mondial. La fin du boom sucrier signa l'effrondement de l'économie sucrière cubaine et sa domination par les usines sucrières nord-américaines.

cubaine n'a su ou n'a voulu réaliser jusqu'ici, c'est-à-dire la réconciliation des divers éléments de la société cubaine dans un concept de culture nationale.

Les textes publiés par le Grupo Minorista dans la revue *Social* ne peuvent être lus comme des programmes esthétiques ou politiques rigoureux. *Social* n'était pas, comme plus tard la *Revista de Avance,* le journal des minoristes. La revue reflétait plutôt les premiers éléments d'un projet culturel en formation. Le manifeste du groupe publié dans la revue *Social* bien avant sa dissolution en 1927 montre bien la détermination de ses membres à y intégrer toutes les tendances. Outre les déclarations politiques du groupe, le texte du manifeste ne va pas au-delà de la déclaration suivante:

> Por el arte vernácular, y, en general, por el arte en sus diversas manifestaciones.
> Por la introducción en Cuba de las últimas doctrinas, teorías y prácticas artísticas y científicas.
> (Marinello 1964:72)

Certes aussi vagues et imprécises que puissent être ces déclarations, elles témoignent de la volonté du groupe minoriste d'engager ce que A. Fornet a appelé une *carrera desenfrenada hacia el presente* (Fornet 1979:32). La revue s'intéresse à tout ce qui est nouveau dans l'art, la science et la politique partout où il se manifeste, elle publie des textes sur la littérature russe d'après la révolution et les nouveaux développements politiques en Chine, elle se découvre des affinités avec la nouvelle Espagne, avec des intellectuels de gauche aux États-Unis comme Langston Hughes. *Social* établit des contacts avec les *nuevos* au Mexique et au Pérou, publie des textes de José Vasconcelos et de Mariátegui. Elle découvre surtout le mouvement dadaiste, le futurisme et le surréalisme; Carpentier envoie régulièrement de Paris des textes sur les nouvelles tendances dans la peinture, la musique et la littérature qui témoignent d'une admiration manifeste pour la culture moderne et d'une rupture avec le monde ancien. Mais le grand projet d'une esthétique du *maravilloso* en Amérique Latine, tel qu'il sera formulé par Carpentier après son voyage en Haïti et en opposition au concept du *merveilleux* développé par Breton, ne prend pas encore forme. Le renouveau culturel des années d'après la première guerre mondiale facilitait cependant l'identification avec l'avant-garde intellectuelle en Europe comprise comme élément de la culture universelle.

Le discours des minoristes, tout critique qu'il soit, n'est pas trop éloigné du projet initial de *Social* : faire connaître aux cubains les mouvements culturels modernes. Les minoristes poursuivent en effet le même projet: montrer au monde que les cubains pouvaient participer aux grands débats modernes. Il serait faux cependant de comprendre cette ouverture sur le monde comme une réédition de la dépendance du pays aux

modèles culturels étrangers, d'un procès de "décubanisation de Cuba" pour répéter José Antonio Ramos qui avait des années avant utilisé ce terme pour fustiger le discours officiel. Les minoristes voulaient surtout comprendre les réalités du pays, ils s'attaquaient à l'oligarchie cubaine à qui ils reprochaient son incapacité de faire de Cuba une nation moderne. José Martí qui a été d'ailleurs découvert par les minoristes est leur grande référence. La publication des textes de Martí trouve dans les années vingt un large public; Martí fournit aux minoristes des arguments pour l'analyse de la responsabilité des cubains dans la perpétuation de la dépendance néocoloniale du pays.

Mais la construction de la nation cubaine n'était pas possible sans le recours aux racines historiques et culturelles du pays. En ce qui concerne l'histoire et la littérature, il suffisait de ranimer une tradition qui a été gommée depuis plusieurs décennies comme par exemple les textes d'Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring sur l'histoire coloniale du pays et sur la littérature costumbriste du XIXème siècle. Pour cerner les caractéristiques de cette nation moderne que les minoristes voulaient créer, il faut surtout porter l'attention sur les efforts déployés par eux pour intégrer ce que la culture officielle a ignoré jusque-là. Les travaux de Fernando Ortiz sur les esclaves, l'engagement de certains minoristes au côté du mouvement ouvrier, le *poema de combate* de Agustín Acosta, *La Zafra* (1926), témoignent (bien avant Nicolás Guillén) d'un intérêt croissant pour le peuple. Mais le cubain noir, l'ouvrier ou le paysan ont dans ces textes selon la perspective de leur auteur des fonctions différentes. Si la production d'un nouveau savoir sur l'histoire de l'esclavage à Cuba, si la réévaluation de la culture afrocubaine ont pour objet de présenter Cuba comme une île caraïbe, cela n'exclue nullement que cette culture soit considérée comme arriérée, sous-développée et ainsi devant être dépassée. La description que fait Acosta, dans son poème *La Zafra,* du *guajiro* est loin d'être une description idéalisante de la vie paysanne; le paysan qui vend sa terre aux grandes compagnies sucrières américaines est pour Acosta le seul responsable de son sort et un traître à la patrie.

Ainsi malgré la mode primitiviste et la publication des premiers poèmes afrocubains (1928),[10] l'intérêt des intellectuels pour le peuple ne dépasse pas le cadre de la ville qui reste le lieu du savoir et de la civilisation. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas un hasard si les références intellectuelles des minoristes sont à côté de José Martí, Fernando Ortiz et Enrique José Varona, deux francs positivistes pour qui la nation cubaine ne peut se construire qu'à partir des modèles européens. Déjà en 1900 Varona, lors ministre de l'éducation, élaborait un programme de réformes qui prévoyait certes

[10]Ramón Guirao publia en 1928 *Bailadora de rumba* dans la revue *Diario de la Marina* et José Z. Tallet *La Rumba* dans la revue *Atuey.*

des campagnes d'alphabétisation, le but principal de cette réforme était cependant la rééstructuration de l'école secondaire avec pour argument: "A Cuba le bastan dos o tres literatos, pero no puede pasarse de algunos centenares de ingenieros" (Lizaso 1949:110). Fernando Ortiz qui publia dans *Social* le *Glosario de Afrocubanismos* créa la même année (1926) l'*Institución Hispanocubana de Cultura* dont le but était le développement des échanges culturelles entre Cuba et l'Espagne. Par analogie à la monoculture du sucre dans l'économie cubaine, Ortiz mettait l'accent sur les dangers d'une *monocultura,* la culture d'une nation souveraine ne pouvant d'après lui se développer que si elle intègre les idées et connaissances venant de cultures étrangères (Lamore 1982:124). Ainsi, bien que les traditions populaires ne soient pas reniées, bien que leur apport à la formation de la culture cubaine soit accepté, elles n'ont en soi aucune valeur pour le présent. La nouvelle littérature criolliste des années 20 était critiquée dans *Social*, déjà en 1924, comme dépassée sous prétexte qu'elle contribuait à l'isolement intellectuel de Cuba puisqu'elle s'adressait exclusivement au public cubain. Carpentier découvre dans *Les Noces* de Stravinsky les éléments rythmiques du Son cubain et souligne ainsi la modernité de la musique cubaine (*Social* 1924:12,p.53). Ces deux exemples montrent le type de rapport qu'entretiennent les intellectuels avec la culture populaire; les minoristes s'intéressent seulement aux éléments de cette culture qui se laissent intégrer dans la culture moderne définie d'emblée comme universelle. Le projet de modernisation de la culture cubaine esquissé dans *Social* par les minoristes sera poursuivi plus tard dans la *Revista de Avance* dans une perspective très avantgardiste par certains membres du groupe comme par exemple Mañach, Marinello, Carpentier. Ce projet trouvera cependant sa traduction concrète dans la poésie d'un jeune poète monté à la Havanne depuis peu et qui n'a pris part qu'indirectement aux travaux du groupe: En 1930, Nicolás Guillén publie ses *Motivos de Son.*

Conclusion

Le Groupe Minoriste occupe une place particulière dans l'histoire intellectuelle de Cuba. Premièrement parce que ses membres ont dominé la vie culturelle du pays durant plusieurs décennies et deuxièmement parce qu'il livre déjà les arguments qui caractériseront plus tard les débats sur la culture cubaine.

En tentant d'intégrer la culture populaire et de définir la culture cubaine moderne, les minoristes des années 20 ont été au cœur des débats sur la culture latinoaméricaine et sur la littérature en général. Cependant les marges de manœuvre pour la réalisation d'un tel projet étaient dans

les années vingt minimales, d'une part à cause de la dictature de Machado et d'autre part à cause du sous-développement des infrastructures culturelles.

Des générations d'intellectuels latino-américains ont cru que l'amélioration des conditions sociales résoudraient d'elle-même le problème d'un espace littéraire sous-développé en Amérique Latine. La révolution cubaine avait le projet de jeter les bases d'une large infrastructure culturelle en procédant à une vaste campagne d'alphabétisation. Le but poursuivi était l'intégration de tout le peuple dans le procès de production et de réception culturel. La création d'institutions littéraires (maisons d'édition, imprimeries, librairies, *talleres literarios,* etc.) à certes élargi le champ littéraire mais les débats impétueux sur la littérature cubaine de masse (*testimonio,* romans policiers) montrent que les problèmes évoqués dans ce texte réclament un approfondissement de la problématique de l'espace littéraire en Amérique Latine.

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DUB POETRY – CULTURE OF RESISTANCE

Christian Habekost (Mannheim)

It was the great Barbadian poet and literary critic Edward Kamau Brathwaite who wrote in his standard work on the development of a "Creole Society" about the emergence of a distinctive Caribbean culture:

> Whatever we did that was worthwile had to be blessed by Europe. And yet the folk tradition persisted. The drums beat from the blood, the people danced and spoke their un-English English until our artists, seeking at last to paint themselves, to speak themselves, to sing themselves, returned [...] to the roots, to the soil, to the sources.[1]

It is dub poetry that incorporates not only these elements of folk tradition Brathwaite is talking about, but blends several art forms like music, drama, poetry, literature and performance into one to produce a modern expression of pop culture that has achieved international recognition.

Developing out of reggae music, which had already gained an international status since Bob Marley & The Wailers had crossed the borders from 1975 on, dub poetry was able to reach an audience all around the world. The poetry took over the cultural values of the music, the revolutionary spirit and its militant stance towards society and used the well-established channels reggae had already prepared. Yet even though dub poetry emerged when reggae was in fashion internationally, it still managed to stay out of the vicious circle of artificial fads and promotional interests of the recording industry.

Today, after reggae has returned to the ghettos where it once came from, dub poetry still enjoys international success and an increasing audience in many countries of the world. Poetry scenes bloom in Jamaica, Britain, Trinidad, New York and Toronto. Dub poets performed in countries all around the globe from Iceland to Japan, from Cuba to Brazil, from Yugoslavia to Germany...

Besides the substantial impact it has on Caribbean and black poetry in general, dub poetry has produced a lasting effect on various arts. The extraordinary skill of the poets to present their works and themselves in a very dramatic manner was used, for instance, to make impressive film

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[1] Edward K. BRATHWAITE, *The Folk Culture of the Slaves in Jamaica.* London, Port of Spain: New Beacon Books, 1981.

documentaries especially in Britain. Quite recently dub poets have also begun to write theatre plays. Benjamin Zephaniah from London was very succesful with his new form of "dub operas", plays in verse accompanied by music.[2]

Yet what exactly is dub poetry?

It has been described as "reggae poetry", "reggae lyricism" or "performance poetry with or without music". Ironically, many of the poets themselves do have their difficulties with that label. In an interview one of the best-known poets, the London-based Linton Kwesi Johnson says:

> Most of the dub poets are showmen. I'm not a dub poet and I don't want to be classified as one. I leave that to other people. I've always seen myself as a poet full stop.[3]

The reason for this reservation can be found in the development of the art form. Since it stems from and has always been connected to reggae music, the poets fear that this symbiotic combination undermines their status as "real poets", making poetry without any further distinction. Although they agree that they make dub poetry most of the time – using reggae rhythms and creole lyrics – many poets feel that the term itself restricts them too much as far as their other works are concerned. Mutabaruka, currently Jamaica's foremost dub poet explains:

> The dub poet thing is a limitation to one's need to move because if you do some other things people say you go astray. That's the same when a reggae musician plays a soul tune, them say 'im a sell-out. My poetry is just poetry.[4]

On the other hand, there are a number of poets who support the concept of a general label dub poetry. Oku Onuora from Kingston, one of the pioneers of the art form, stands out as the one who actually created the term himself. While he objects the name "reggae poetry" as too restrictive he defines dub poetry differently. Instead of sticking to the general meaning of the word "dub" (as intrumental version of a reggae tune) he refers to it as a technical term describing the process of sound engineering at a mixing desk in a recording studio:

> Dub poetry is the process of dubbing in or out: dubbing the ignorance out of people's minds and dubbing in new conciousness. On the artistic level it means to dub a musical rhythm into poetry. It's not restricting because I can dub into my poetry a reggae rhythm, a jazz rhythm, a disco rhythm, any

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[2] "Playing the Right Tune" was performed at Tom Allen Centre, London, 1986.– "Job Rocking" was played at Riverside Studios, London, 1987.

[3] LKJ (interviewed by Neil Spencer) in *New Musical Express,* London, 17th March 1984, p. 19.

[4] MUTABARUKA (interviewed by the author), Kingston, 1986.

kind of rhythm that suits the words. I can dub from now till'a morning.[5]

Whatever the reservations against or predelections for the name dub poetry may be, in fact, the label is generally accepted today and used by everyone be it poet, critic, journalist or student. And even the poets who dislike the label do approve of it in the light of it being a headline for a whole movement.

To define dub poetry is easier, however, than to describe it. Dub poetry must be seen against the background of the art of *musical talk-over* which was invented in Jamaica during the late 1950s. When the first dub plates (i.e. songs that were remixed as instrumental versions) were produced a decade later and each single carried a "version" on the flip side, the dee-jays who run mobile discos or sound systems became "talkover artists" (or "toasters", "MCs" as they call themselves), using the musical rhythm as background for their own lyrics that were often created spontaneously and performed in a special recitative style. This is regarded as having been the original source for the North American Rap (besides the "Jazzoetry" of the legendary Last Poets in the late 60s).

Many dub pets were once closely related to this dance-hall scene. Some of them have also been dee- jays in their younger days before they turned to dub poetry. And indeed, dub poetry is also a talkover-style. Yet the poets have taken it further. They concentrate much more on the lyrics while the music is crucial only regarding the rhythm of the poetry. During the process of writing a poem a specific rhythm is built simulataneously by the flowing chain of words. Sometimes, not always, the dub poet adds a musical background to his (or her) poem, either for the recording of a record or the live-performance together with a band. But when the poet performs without music, just reciting a poem, this specific rhythm can still be heard through the words. This is what makes dub poetry so unique: it combines two dissimilar artistic expressions. It is, as the poets would say, "musical and wordical".

Furthermore dub poets describe their art as *Word, Sound & Power,* which means the two levels of WORD (lyrics) and SOUND (rhythm & recitation) must come together to experience the full effect of the poetry. Thus it is sometimes difficult to fully appreciate dub poetry on the page. Some poems appear to be rather weak and even insignifiant in their printed form. Yet when read aloud and performed, the poetry unfoldsits entire meaning and is recognized as the extraordinary and impressive form of poetry it really is. This is felt even more when compared with a modern "Lyrik" reading which in most cases must appear rather tedious and square. Hence the importance of records for dub poetry. We

[5]Oku ONUORA (interviewed by the author), Kingston, 1986.

have called dub poetry "culture of resistance". Resistance for dub poets living in Jamaica, Britain or Canada includes various aspects and is always working on two levels: on the one hand they oppose the system of modern society in general, on the other hand many poems provide an alternative concept at the same time.

Due to the fact that many poets are Rastafarians the poetry follows the respective philosophical pattern. Resistance is directed against the neocolonial and still vivid racist attitudes, against nuclear armament and chemical food. Dub poets follow the alternative concepts of Rastafari, Pan-Africanism and undogmatic Socialism. They support any kind of militant (and sometimes violent) resistance to oppression (especially in South Africa) and the idea of a peaceful, multi-racial society with equal rights for everybody and total freedom for any cultural activity. They turn towards the African heritage of the Caribbean people, continuing the old tradition of resistance which began with the first slavery revolts, the preservation of an original black folklore and which culminated in the 20th century with the development of distinctive Jamaican arts: music, dance, fine arts and poetry. Dub poets stand in one line with Louise Bennett, Trevor Rhone, The National Dance Theatre Company and Bob Marley, to name but a few of the outstanding cultural protagonists.

In the ensuing paragraphs of this paper I will comment upon four predominant aspects of what I called 'dub-poetry-resistance':

I European literary traditions

II The usage of language

III Poetry and music

IV Political and social life

European literary traditions

Dub poets turn down European literary traditions. Especially the models of European/English poetry taught in schools in the Caribbean are totally outside their world. They are simply beyond the reality of an impoverished third world country in a tropical setting (just imagine a little Jamaican pupil in his very British-looking school uniform learning Christmas carols that revolve round snow in wintertime).

Two statements by dub poets shall replace further exhortations by me. Mutabaruka:

> I know everything 'bout Hamlet. Imagine, we Jamaican children had to learn 'bout a prince in Denmark. Did you ever

> learn a poem by Louise Bennett while you were in school in Germany?![6]

And Benjamin Zephaniah:

> What I think about poetry? It's boring, man, that's what it is. Having a poet there, reading behind a table, a book and a glass of wine. It's a funny thing to say, but I don't like poetry. When I came I moved the table![7]

Dub poetry's main concern is to constitute an African identity which is expressed not only in the message of the actual words but also by the particular style and the structure of the poetry. The *African griot* is regarded as a shining example, a person who is poet communicator, actor, master of ceremonies, and the cultural conciousness of the whole community tribe all in one. Dub poets emphasize that they belong to the oral tradition that originated in Africa and is still alive today. And, indeed, being a mixed art form itself, fusing poetry with musical rhythms and a little drama, dub poetry takes up the African tradition of art where the pattern of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* is as old as the culture itself. In so far the African griot can well and truly be regarded as a direct link to modern dub poets.

This, however, is just one aspect of it since dub poets cannot deny the shaping impact of creole culture. Both African and European elements are mixed together and no matter which part is focused on, the other one can't be suppressed entirely. Seeing dub poetry from this perspective one can understand much easier that – despite their emphasis on the oral tradition – dub poets find it increasingly important to publish their works in written form. Thus they feel that only a book (rather than a record which remains the more adequate medium) really adds to their reputation as poets – even if that may mean too much of a concession to Western traditions.

As to the *topics* of the dub poems one also discovers some references to European literary traditions. Especially the influence of Rasta philosophy with its biblical visions leaves its mark on quite a number of poems. Some do even contain biblical images and other allegories that may be said to be reminiscent of Metaphysical Poetry for instance.[8]

Concerning the poetical *form,* dub poets focus on the importance of a particular rhythm. They regard the classic form of the iambic pentameter (that Louise Bennett still used almost exclusively) as a symbol for the

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[6]MUTABARUKA (interviewed by the author), Kingston, 1986.

[7]Benjamin ZEPHANIAH (interviewed by the author), London, 1984.

[8]See especially: MUTABARUKA's "Mortal Me", in Christian HABEKOST (ed.), *The First Poems. Gedichte aus Jamaica,* Neustadt/Rbge.: Buchverlag Michael Schwinn, 1987, pp. 112-115 and p. 153.

European dominance that had for so long prevented the development of a distinctive Caribbean poetry. Thus their creative process of writing (or rather: making) poetry always includes two parts: the WORD plus the search for a specific RHYTHM, the latter one often enough put together in cooperation with musicians.

The Usage of Language

Linguistically dub poets follow the same pattern. They focus on their native creole language not only in their recordings and performances but in the printed medium as well. "Patwa" or "Nation Language", as the creole is also called, has always been the vernacular of the great majority of Caribbean people who had been uprooted from their native West African tongues. In an act of somewhat unintentional resistance, however, it was developed into a new language, unintelligable to their oppressors, a process Carlos Fuentes described like this:

> It was a language that the slave was perhaps most succesfully imprisoned by his master, and it was in his (mis-)use of it that he perhaps most effectively rebelled.[9]

And yet it was always stamped as baby talk or bastard language by the white and mulattoe upper class. To be able to talk "good" English was and still is be seen as the primary condition for social advancement in a society that was dominated by a British educational system. This system was so rigid that also working class people felt ashamed often enough not to be able to talk the so-called "right and proper way". And still it is English not Jamaican that is Jamaica's official language. So until today, in Jamaica, language means the discrepancy between "Queen's English" as symbol for the upper class, the oppressor's tongue, and "Patwa" as the language of the people, the tongue of resistance.

Thus for dub poets the mere usage of creole means an act of resistance. They continue a development which started with Louise Bennett in the 1940s whose pioneering efforts for a general acceptance of "Patwa" are pointed out by all dub poets: a development which was continued by Sparrow Slinger Francisco's Calypso Poetry, Edward Kamau Brathwaite and the novels of Roger Mais. A development which reached its peak when reggae music transported creole lyrics around the globe and became somehow a mouthpiece of Jamaica.

Yet while especially Claude Mc Kay, for instance, used dialect only to achieve special folklore effects and Louise Bennett concentrated almost

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[9]Carlos FUENTES, in Edward K. BRATHWAITE, *Folk Culture of the Slaves in Jamaica*, op. cit., p. 31.

entirely on the folklore aspect of the native tongue, dub poets have taken a more radical approach. Naturally they do use elements of the rediscovered and rich Jamaican folklore like nursery rhymes, story-telling, ring tunes, etc. but, before all, they see language as the most basic expression of a people's culture. They feel that an original language is the most powerful vehicle for promoting an African identity.

Dub poet Levi Tafari from Liverpool expresses this best when he says:

> I feel seh language is very important. Because language is 'land-gage' as I see it. It's a measurement of land. What they say is the people that control the mass of the land also control the language. So we have to control our own language, Patwa, to control our land.[10]

In addition to this the usage of "Patwa" also supplies the basic rhythmic foundation for dub poetry. It is only the natural rhythm of the Jamaican creole language that perfectly fits the melodic sing-talk style of a dub poetry performance. As dub poet Anum A. Iyapo puts it:

> The words automatically fall into a particular riddim because that's the thing about the language that we use: it's rhythmic in its roots.[11]

All this does not mean, however, that dub poets discard English entirely. In order to achieve the widest possible spectrum of expression they also write poems in standard English. This is also to be seen as part of the anxiety mentioned earlier to be reputed as "real" poets but also as a consistent move to incorporate any possible poetical effect.

Poetry and Music

It is symptomatic that dub poetry became remarkably strong when reggae music experienced the first crisis of its existence during the early 1980s. This decay of a music that had been one of the most influential cultural forces during many years and the potential of which seemed almost inexhaustible, was caused mainly by three different reasons:

1. In 1981 *Bob Marley died* of cancer at the age of only 36. With him the music lost its leading figure and spiritual guide, a world-renowned superstar.
2. The election of the conservative JLP- government under Seaga (after the most violent pre-election period Jamaica had ever experienced) meant the definite end of Michael Manley's experiment of "Democratic Socialism". With its almost total surrender to the U.S. the

[10]Levi TAFARI (interviewed by the author), Mannheim, 1986.
[11]Anum A. IYAPO (interviewed by the author), London, 1985.

conservative government created, among many other things, a *cultural depression.*

3. The dancehall phenomenon, now more than ever, became the order of the day. Yet the revolutionary spirit which had almost been omnipresent was replaced musically by copying versions that had been succesful, and lyrically by boasting about sex and the physical appeals of women and men. The *slackness style* ruled the Jamaican music scene.

As a result reggae went back to the ghettos where it had once come from. Yet dub poetry managed to cross the border at that time. It resisted the current trend of the music by setting itself apart from then popular fads, upholding the revolutionary and militant spirit and pushing it even farer. To get away from the endless copying of certain musical versions, dub poets founded their own bands with musicians who played exclusively for them and created innovative and sophisticated pieces of music.

Political and Social Life

As far as the lyrics are concerned dub poets despise the "slackness style". By comparing the contents of some slackness dee-jay lyrics with one of the rather rare love poems of dub poetry one might even take into account the classic distinction of "eros" and "agape".

Ranking Joe, a very succesful dee-jay in the early 80s in his song "Sex Maniac":

> nice it nice mi haffe gi' har all night
> she want more sex
> dat's why she vex
> mi haffe fuck har ovah school 'pon de desk
> nice it nice mi haffe gi' har all night.[12]

And Shaka Bantuta, a member of the dub poetry group "Poets in Unity" from Kingston praises his girl with a classic allegory and not without a biblical threat:

> Continous
> As di flowing a di Nile
> A wi love yu
> [...]
> Appreciate

[12]RANKING JOE, "Sex Maniac" from LP *Saturday Night Jamdown Style,* London: Greensleeves, 1980.

Seh fi dont
Underrate
Di beauty
A yu body
An neva
Yu goh sell eh
To anyone
Fi money
Cause Jah! wi bun eh
Girl [...]
A love yu.[13]

Levi Tafari's poem "Love" sounds almost like a manifestation of dub poets' general understanding of love:

Love is not a sexual act
Love like sex don't keep one back
In all situation
Love is the unification
Of all nation.[14]

Another aspect of this is the position of women which, in the light of Rastafarian philosophy and its old-testamentarian values, has always been a problem for outside supporters of the movement. And here especially female dub poets take a very strong stance, taking the lead of the struggle for liberation of Caribbean women. Lillian Allen, the leading figure of the Canadian dub poetry scene, and Jean 'Binta' Breeze from Kingston are the strongest protagonists.

Jean Breeze has written a whole poem about the effects of the "slackness style". Shouting at the dee-jays she says:

butta
yu slack
cah di dawta yu a mock
we a sistas in dis dispensation
we a tired a di degradation...[15]

Besides the question of cultural decay dub poets aim at three targets with their lyrics:

1. The *political system* in general which Mutabaruka describes in his aggressive poem entitled "De System":

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[13]Shaka BANTUTA, "Ti-Ti", in Christian HABEKOST (ed.), *Dub Poetry. 19 Poets from England and Jamaica,* Neustadt/ Rbge.: Buchverlag Michael Schwinn, 1986, pp. 330-335.

[14]Levi TAFARI, "Love", in HABEKOST, op. cit., pp.148-150.

[15]Jean 'Binta' BREEZE, "Get Back" from LP: *Woman Talk.* US: Heart-beat, 1986.

de system de system
de system is a fraud
I say
de system is a graveyard
it's either do or die.[16]

2. The *social conditions* which have been described best in the late Michael Smith's poem "Mi Cyaan Believe It" where he puts together all the various aspects of ghetto life like a puzzle: the devastating housing conditions, the exploitation of women, the treatment of working class people by their white masters, the violence in the streets and so on, until he comes to the conclusion:

Teck a trip from Kingston
to Jamaica
Teck twelve from a dozen
an see mi Muma in heaven
MAD OUSE! MAD OUSE!
Mi seh mi cyaan believe it.[17]

3. *Racism* in Britain and South Africa connected to the problems of immigration. Martin Glynn from Nottingham, son of a Jamaican mother and a Welsh father, picks at the problem of white and black complexion. In his poem "Get It Straight" he speaks about white people:

If dem seh we
is second rate
an dis country
is so great
why dem av fe conquer
fe we country?
why dem av fe hide
fe we histry
why dem guh pon holiday
fe tun dem skin Brown
why dem av fe keep
our race down?[18]

On the other hand dub poets offer *alternative concepts* in writing about:

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[16]MUTABARUKA, "De System" from LP: *Check It.* JA: Hight Times Records, 1983.

[17]Michael SMITH, "Mi Cyaan Believe It", in HABEKOST, op. cit., pp. 137-139.

[18]Martin GLYNN, "Get It Straight", in HABEKOST, op. cit., pp. 61-63.

- *the struggle for liberation*
- *Black history*
- a new *Black / African identity* as expressed in Anum A. Iyapo's poem "Afrikan Man":

> I am an Afrikanman
> and Idon't needno one
> to tellme how to be
> An Afrikan.[19]

- *the poetry* itself. Dub poets always see themselves as a "voice" or "echo" of the people. Dub poetry pioneer Oku Onuora from Kingston speaks for all his colleagues when he says:

> I am no poet
> no poet
> I am just a voice
> I echo the people's
> thought
> laughter
> cry
> sigh
> I am no poet
> no poet
> I am just a voice.[20]

Thus they do not think of themselves as poets only but also as political activists. Besides their poetry most of them do political or community work. They do not organize themselves in any political party but act on a grassroots level. Linton Kwesi Johnson, for instance, had been a founding member of the political activist group "Race Today" in South London, one of the most influential black organizations in Britain today. Benjamin Zephaniah, currently the leading dub poet in England, founded the first black housing co-operative and opened an alternative book store in London's East end. And in Jamaica, Mutabaruka opened the first health food store of the island, and Oku Onuora works for the Jamaican Human Rights Comitee.

All this, the outspoken militancy of their lyrics as well as their active role in the alternative community scene, does not make life for dub poets very easy. Especially in Jamaica where political violence is the order of the

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[19]Anum A. IYAPO, "Afrikan Man", in HABEKOST, op. cit., pp. 74-76 (spelling sic!).

[20]Oku ONUORA, "No Poet", in Orlando WONG (Oku ONUORA), *Echo,* Kingston: Sangster's, 1977, p. 43.

day, it needs a high amount of courage to utter words like Malachi Smith, for instance, who, being a famous dub poet, worked as plain clothes policeman, which indeed is a unique case of combination. In his poem "One Way" this dub-poet-policeman says:

> Him say
> Look man
> Have faith
> 'Cause nutten can stop de rain from fall
> Nutten can stop de sun from shine
> Stop bawl
> Rise up
> Revalushan![21]

And, sadly enough, besides a number of reggae artists who have been killed in the past few years for different reasons, dub poetry already had its first martyr. Michael Smith (born 1954), for many the most promising and powerful young poet, was killed ("stoned to death on Stony Hill") in 1983 by a gang outside the office of the conservative party JLP. Yet even though his death was a shock and a warning for everybody it has also been a spur to keep on.

In an interview Oku Onuora says about the death of Michael Smith:

> I 'n' I walk the streets of Kingston as a free man. Should the threat of death silence me? – Then I wouldn't dare reading poetry in public. We don't fire bullets in a gun, we fire word bullets![22]

So we are and will be confronted with dub poetry. If this does not mean that we are forced to wear a bullet-proof waist (we don't fire bullets in a gun) we may be well adviced if we prepare and arm ourselves for the inevitable confrontation with the militant spirit of dub poetry which, before long, may demand more than academic discourse.[23]

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[21]Malachi SMITH, "One Way", in HABEKOST, op. cit., pp. 194-196.

[22]Oku ONUORA (interviewed by the author), Kingston, 1986.

[23]The author would like to thank PD Dr. Michael Gassenmeier, University of Mannheim, for reading and commenting on the original draft of this lecture.

"WE DOIN WE OWN TING!" REVOLUTION AND LITERATURE IN GRENADA

Gerhard Dilger (Bogotá)

> Today in Grenada, the long-submerged culture of the masses of the people is rising to the surface of our history through the development of structures which unlock the voices of our people from centuries of oblivion [...] in the 3 1/2 years of the Revolution alone we can boast that never before have so many Grenadians put pen to paper, never before have the voices of so many Grenadians been recorded in print.
>
> Maurice Bishop (1982)

The most radical attempt to break through the encirclement of poverty, oppression and foreign domination in the English-speaking Caribbean took place in Grenada, from 12 March 1979 to 19 October 1983. It was foiled by the murderous split within the revolutionary leadership culminating in the assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who died along with dozens of fellow citizens. These circumstances made it easy for the U.S. government to complete its policy of permanent destabilization by invading the small Caribbean island on 25 October 1983.

It is the purpose of this article to shed some light on the literature produced during and after the revolutionary period. The social processes which made its emergence possible, and which in turn were reflected creatively in it, will also be recalled. Particular emphasis will be placed on the social function of revolutionary poetry and calypso, the art forms prominent from 1979 to 1983.

Grenada's cultural system: Historical developments

According to George Lamming,

> The history of a people's culture is first and foremost the history of that process of labour on which such a culture is

> built; and a history of degraded labour will reflect itself in the distortions of a people's cultural formation (1984:2).

Literature is a small part of a country's cultural system. In the case of Grenada, the sectoral model developed by the sociologist Paget Henry (Table 1) provides a useful theoretical framework for our purpose.[1]

TABLE 1. Sectoral model of the Grenadian cultural system

Linguistic Sector	Belief Sector	Knowledge-Producing Sector	Arts Sector
English	Religious Subsector	Educational Subsector	Mass Communications Subsector
Grenadian Creole	Ideological Subsector	Research Subsector	Fine Arts Subsector

Although the main focus will be on literature, a part of the fine arts sub-sector, its relationships to other elements of the cultural system, particularly to the linguistic sector and the ideological and educational subsectors, will also be examined. According to Henry, there are symbolic, as well as functional, relationships between the cultural system and the other sectors of society; culture reflects and/or interprets society and, at the same time, must respond to

> three external constraints [...]: (1) the legitimacy demands of the dominant classes and the state; (2) the information needs of the production system; and (3) the identity maintaining needs of the population.

We will see to what degree those constraints were relevant to Grenadian literature.

Grenada shares with its Caribbean neighbours a "history of degraded labour" which has been characterized by the structural dependence established from the beginning of its colonization by the British and the French. During the 20th century, the United States eventually took over as the metropole. The Caribbean plantation society was rigidly stratified: the white planter class dominated the large slave population of

[1] As Henry's article "Socialism and Cultural Transformation in Grenada", on which I draw heavily in part I, has not yet been published, I am unable to refer the reader to the pages from which the quotes are taken.

African origin. Gradually, an intermediate mulatto class emerged. The colonial state reacted to the legitimacy deficits it encountered with physical and symbolic violence, the latter of which became more important after the abolition of slavery in the 1830s, especially in the educational and religious subsectors primary education and Christianization). Thus, a hierarchical social structure was stabilized. A century later, the gradual political decolonization led to a liberal state headed by elements of the Afro-Grenadian population, notably Eric Gairy. This state required a new set of legitimizing ideologies, "a new political culture", replacing the racist notions which had been used to rationalize colonial rule with "nationalism, mass liberal democracy, Pan-Africanism and developmentism".

Gairy, who – like other nationalist leaders of the 1950s – seemed to embody those ideas, was very popular in the first years of his regime. But as the economic system, peripheral capitalism, did not basically change, the new ruling class was faced with a fundamental dilemma: as it was not really in control of the Grenadian economy, it was forced to make compromises with "old and new imperial powers" as well as with the local elites, which led to widespread disillusionment and the ideological "polarization around the capitalism-socialism alternative" from the late 1960s onwards. The extremely corrupt and repressive nature of the Gairy regime during that time accounts for the success of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), unequalled by any other progressive force in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

During Gairyism (1951-1979), the Grenadian cultural system experienced its biggest upheaval in the ideological subsector. Most of the other sectors did not change qualitatively: The Creole language gained more acceptance, but was still widely regarded as "bad English", the Christian churches received local administrative structures; the education sector expanded noticeably, but remained deeply flawed; and the mass communications subsector was placed under relatively tight state control, especially in the 1970s. In the arts subsector, there was "a significant increase in the appreciation of the art of the masses", above all, of music. The creative outburst of Caribbean literature in English, which started in the 1950s, also found some readers in the Grenadian middle class, but the small island itself contributed little to it.

In 1979, the performance of the highly dependent and export-oriented economy was disastrous: Unemployment reached 49%, the country's infrastructure as well as its education and health services had deteriorated considerably, and every social sector suffered under Gairy's mismanagement and the terror spread by his Mongoose Gang. When the NJM, formed in the 1970s by young intellectuals, toppled the Gairy regime on

13 March 1979 in an almost bloodless *coup d'état,* the population greeted the "Revo" with overwhelming support.

The educational policies from 1979 to 1983

The Grenadian revolutionaries were aware that tackling the cultural legacy of colonialism and neo-colonialism – the "colonized consciousness" so poignantly described and analysed by Caribbean authors like Fanon or Lamming – had to have first priority in the process of developing their country. In this endeavour with the aim to create a truly alternative political culture in the English- speaking Caribbean, two opposing tendencies (pointed out by Henry) were at work: on the one hand, "the determined effort to end bourgeois domination of the cultural system, and to make the culture of the masses more central to the system", on the other, "the equally strong effort to increase state control over the system". The result – in the cultural sphere as well as in society at large – was "paternalistic socialism" (Mandle 1985:53 sq.).

The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) concentrated its energies on the political and economical realms. For the cultural system, the importance of which was obvious underestimated, there was no overall concept. Only a limited mobilization took place, the educational, the ideological and the mass communications sectors being prioritized (cf. Henry). Therefore, it is not surprising that some of the most erroneous policies – restrictions on press freedom, confrontation with the churches, arbitrary arrests of opponents, real or presumed – were adopted in the cultural realm. Although these measures were provoked by various forms of destabilization (cf. Searle 1983), they contradicted the liberal political culture which the population had become used to and contributed to weakening the internal – and external – support of the revolution.

In contrast, the PRG's educational policies can be regarded, by and large, as successful and promising. In 1979, the state of the education system was dismal, even by Caribbean standards: Only a minority of teachers (30% at the primary level, 7% at the secondary level) had "received some form of professional training" (Bishop 1983: 45); many schools were in urgent need of repair; secondary education was expensive, and access to it limited; and many qualified teachers went abroad. Some "96% of all the children in our schools [were] failures in the education system at different points along the way" (Coard 1985:10). Functional illiteracy was widespread. The elitist character of that educational system is summarized in the fact that in 1978, only three Grenadians – children of Gairy and two other high-ranking members of the government – attended the University of the West Indies on a government scholarship.

From a "*commodity* to be bought and sold" (Creft 1982: 49; emphasis in the original), education was turned into a right for the whole people. Access to secondary education was facilitated by the gradual reduction, and the eventual abolition, of school fees. A new secondary school was opened in 1980, and more were planned. In the same year, 300 university scholarships were granted.

Through the Centre for Popular Education (CPE), a massive literacy programme for adults was carried out which, following the methodology developed by Paulo Freire, also aimed at the political "conscientization" of the population. It was very popular and showed tangible results. In a second phase, the objective was to deepen that process, allowing everybody to reach an intermediate educational level (the CXL of the Commonwealth Caribbean). Phase three, providing the opportunity for "a wider range of technical and vocational skills" (Coard 1985:20), never materialized.

In the primary schools, the work-study approach and the integration of school and community were implemented: One day a week, through the Community School Day Programme (CSDP), various community members taught their skills to the students. "We asked for and got farmers, singers, drummers, artists, carpenters, masons, accordionists, patois teachers, storytellers, boat builders, basket-makers, seamstresses, medical workers and others" (Creft 1982:58). On other occasions, the students would leave their school and visit farmers, fishermen, or agroindustrial companies. During the same time, the untrained teachers assembled at the National Inservice Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP) centres where their knowledge of the subject area and their pedagogical skills were raised by tutors and trained colleagues. This ambitious compulsory three-year training programme was also carried through full-time during the holidays. There were, however, administrative and motivational problems, and many of those rural schools "which had the most untrained teachers became, in effect, 'half-work, half-study' schools and serious deficiencies in literacy and numeracy began to appear to the concern of the government" (Thorndike 1985:109). Thus, the gap between primary and secondary education often persisted.

In addition, NISTEP started a curriculum development programme aimed at supplementing the totally inadequate teaching materials and building a new curriculum. This was, at the same time, an important "part of the overall process of mobilizing and *involving* teachers in changing the legacy of the neo-colonial education system" (Searle 1984:75/76; emphasis in the original).

The *Marryshow Readers,* schoolbooks in which the traditional stereotyping was avoided and the Standard English / Creole language situa-

tion taken into consideration (cf. Merle Hodge's explanations in Searle 1984:78-82), were the most prominent product of this effort.

The PRG must also be credited with attemping to stimulate a new, favourable attitude towards the Creole language, thus finding a balance in the linguistic sector. This was tried mainly in the new educational programmes: Creole was increasingly regarded as a language in its own right; consequently, a new approach to the teaching of English had to be developed. The introduction of Creole into the classroom was a truly revolutionary measure implying social acceptance. At the same time, the aim was to ensure that everybody obtained access to full literacy in Standard English.

However, as Hubert Devonish demonstrates, little systematic thought was given to the language question, leading to contradictory attitudes within the revolutionary leadership, even within the same individuals. The two basic positions can be summarized as (1) "they [the masses] must learn our language [English]", and (2) "we [the leadership] should speak their language [Creole]". Position (1) prevailed, and rather than envisioning a bilingual situation where "an attempt is made to provide access to all areas of national life in each of the two languages", the official language policies perpetuated diglossia. English continued to operate "as the official, public-formal and sole written language variety in the country. Creole was the language variety used as a means of everyday informal communication among the mass of the population" (Devonish 1986:137f.). Obviously, the PRG did not recognize the linguistic challenge and its vital implications to a satisfactory extent; paternalistic attitudes towards the "dialect"-only- speaking population were widespread. (It can also be assumed that one of the reasons why the NJM's ideological work among the people was not very successful lay in the difficulties of the abstract English terminology frequently employed.)

Education in a wider sense was at work in the development of new political structures – notably the Parish Councils, the Zonal Councils and the mass organizations – which aimed at including the active participation of the whole population. In this context, the ultimate lack of grassroots democracy and the prevalence of hierarchical structures – designed to guarantee state control – constituted a decisive deficiency. However, the nationwide discussions of the national budget, first put into execution in 1982, and intended to demystify economics (Coard 1985:21/22, 25 sq.), remain one of the most impressive examples of popular education and participation.

Grenadian poetry and calypso from 1979 to 1983

As in all Caribbean societies, popular culture in Grenada is based on the oral tradition. In continuation of this, the dominant "literary" genres during the revolutionary period were performance poetry and the calypso. (It must be noted, however, that *writing* poems became a major activity in the educational processes mentioned above). Chris Searle's *Words Unchained – Language and Revolution in Grenada* (Searle 1984) constitutes the richest collection of that literature. None of the Grenadian authors represented in this anthology (except the calypsonians living and recording in Trinidad) were professional artists. Many of them were teachers or had some sort of academic background and belonged, like many of the NJM's cadres, to the relatively privileged educated middle class. Even if there was no literary infrastructure – as in industrialized societies or, in the Caribbean context, Cuba – with institutionalized mechanisms for the production, distribution and reception of literature,[2] the revolutionary poetry was spread to an extent unknown before, in newspapers, radio broadcasts or at political gatherings.

Linguistically, there is a variety of mixtures between Standard English, Creole and, in some cases, even Patois (the French-based Creole still spoken among the older rural population). Furthermore, influences "from Rastafarian and American black slang, from the Bible, from the new revolutionary lexicon [...] and from the effect of Latin American poets such as Guillén and Cardenal *and* the great Caribbean English-speaking poets like Carter and Brathwaite" (Searle 1984:122; emphasis in the original) can be detected. Many of those poems also have a definite affinity with Jamaican dub poetry. However, their character of resistance is not vaguely directed against "the system" or "Babylon", but concretely against the permanent threat to, and the destabilization of, the Grenada Revolution by the United States government. Much more frequently than dub poetry, the Grenadian revolutionary poetry is strongly affirmative and sometimes overly didactic; one underlying aim is in most cases to cause the audience to identify with the revolution.

The revolutionary poets liked to see themselves as "people's messengers", as founders of "a new body of literature in our country, which will be available for the re-education of our people", linking the "past with the present realities" (Chris de Riggs in Searle 1984:129). Like Garvin Nantambu Stuart, they demanded a departure from the individualist pose

[2]Significantly, the Grenadian poet and storyteller Paul Keen-Douglas, who went professional in 1979, has been working and performing outside Grenada since 1974 (two of his poems can be found in *The Penguin Book of Caribbean Verse 1986: 56-60).*

regarded as a relic from colonial times: "In the past, the colonial theme of poetry was always 'I'. Now we must move to the collective symbol of 'we', of all of us uniting" (in Searle 1984:154). In revolutionary euphoria, they sometimes even equated their poetry, a "mass form of communication", with the "people's voice", as it were.

In this context, only a very limited number of the wealth of poems produced until 1983 can be touched upon. My aim is to refer to the most recurring and representative characteristics and topics.

The first collection of Grenadian poems during the revolution, *Freedom Has No Price,* was produced in 1980. It consists of two sections: "The long, hard night of terror", poems written during or dealing with the final years of Gairyism, and pieces celebrating "the new day of justice, freedom and equality". The authors come from all social and all age groups of Grenadian society, from 14-year-old students to housewives and an 81-year-old retired civil servant. Equally broad is the thematic as well as the stylistic range of the poems. The reality of underdevelopment and oppression under the neo-colonial Gairy regime is evoked and denounced both in general terms ("The Wretched of the Earth" by Chris de Riggs) and in concrete descriptions made in vivid Creole:

> Nanci-Story, Nanci-Story, Nanci-Story.
> Everyday a price ah food going up high, high, high.
> The poorman suffering is tight, tight, tight,
> Nanci-Story.
> Woman bawling, can't buy baby food
> While richman everyday buying puppy food.
> Nanci-Story.
> [...]
> No more big belly, no more prostitution, no more
> poverty, no more unemployment, we want is
> free and just society!!
> Nanci-Story.
> NO NANCI-STORY NAH. ALL THAT IS THE TRUTH!![3]

The long enumeration of "unbelievable" grievances (underlined by the constant interjection of "Nanci- Story") triggers off, quite logically, the final popular outcry for change. Another aspect under attack in this section of protest poetry is Britain's complicity with Gairy, visible in the military parades on Queen's birthday (cf. Caldwell "Kwame" Taylor's biting anti-colonial satire "Untitled").

Gairy's fall on 13 March 1979 is greeted and celebrated in more than a dozen pieces, and the anthology closes on some of the themes which

[3]Ian ST. BERNARD, "Nanci-Story", *Freedom,* p. 13.

dominated the revolutionary discourse until 1983: internationalism, production, education and destabilization.

During the literacy campaign organized by the Centre for Popular Education, more poems – although very few of outstanding quality – were written in situations comparable to the collective processes in the Nicaraguan *talleres de poesía* (poetry workshops). It has to be borne in mind, however, that the function of this kind of poetry was primarily pedagogical. It served as a medium to encourage learners to make more conscious use of their language and to propagate the educational policies carried out by the CPE. Many examples of it are represented in the 1981 anthology *Tongues of the New Dawn:*

To be educated's
a basic right
we fought for this into all our might
each one teach one
to read and write
come out and join the CPE
Learn to read and be free.[4]

The message is straightforward. The whole poem, which was turned into a song, like many others, is basically a variation of the main slogans of the educational programme, urging the audience to participate in it.

More elaborate attempts to copy European-style heroic poetry seem out of place:

'Tis Education's Potent Arm
That shields us from oppression's harm.
That guides our feet in freedom's way.
And fabrics rare that ne'er decay.[5]

Other Grenadian poets found much more original ways of dealing with the history of their country, like Chris de Riggs – the PRG's minister of health – in his epic "Jookootoo I". From the perspective of a native labourer, the most poignant phases of Grenadian history from the arrival of the British colonizers to the revolution are recalled: slavery with African women cursing the slavers, the hardships of work in the canefields, Fedon's aborted rebellion of 1795, the beginnings of nationalism in the 1930s connected with the names of A.T. Marryshow and "Buzz" Butler, World War II with West Indians fighting for an ungrateful Empire, the hopes and disillusions of Gairyism. Powerful images, captivating the vitality of the people's resistance to colonialism, are put forward in Creole. The protagonist voices his emotions in lively, sometimes drastic language:

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[4]Waltham Junior Secondary School, "Join CPE", *Tongues*, p. 8.
[5]CPE Brigade Carriacou, "'Tis Education's Potent Arm", *Tongues*, p. 64.

Jookootoo I who wet me pants March 13th '79
and hide like hell for days
Singing Our Fadder, Haily Mary
Lord oh Lord please bring back Gairy
But is two years since the Revo come
and ah could still drink me rum
Dey en close de church
Dey en take one sheep
ah ha me wuk
an ah still could sleep
Me son gone and study engineer
ah getting free milk an house repair
Is only now I seeking how dis Revo good for de poor
an ah dam sorry it didn't come before
De Revo run me Fadder, is true
But me Godfadder treating me better
Thank you.[6]

The poet's choice of the contemporary Jookootoo is particularly effective: it is not the heroic, fully "conscious" revolutionary of other, more clear-cut poems, but a sceptical, religious person with anti-communist fears who turns into a supporter of the "Revo" because of the social gains he has obtained.[7]

Merle Collins is another author who skillfully celebrates different aspects of a new self-confidence attained through the revolution. The forging of a national historical consciousness as opposed to the indoctrination in colonial schools is proclaimed in "The Lesson". "Great Grand-mammy" and "Grannie", who remember meticulous details about William the Conqueror's family and the geography of the Arctic Ocean, had received no instruction about Caribbean history and geography. At last, and in the memorable imaginary meeting of heroes old and new, things are put in a perspective relevant to the people:

And now
We
Consciously
Anti-colonial
Understanding all dat
And a little more
Will cherish
Grannie's memory

[6] in SEARLE 1984:125.

[7] For a lively description on how de Riggs performed this poem at a Parish Council meeting, cf. HODGE/SEARLE 1981:4 sq.

And beckon William across
To meet and revere
Our martyrs
Fedon
And Toussaint
And Marryshow
And Tubal Uriah Buzz
Butler
And the countries
And principles
They fought for
We
Will watch
William's astonished admiration
As he humbly meets
Fidel
As
In a spirit's daze
He greets the PRG
We will move
Even closer [...]

In this beginning
We
Will rewrite
De history books
Put William
On de back page
Make Morgan
A
footnote
Grannies to come
Will know
Of de Arctic Ocean
But will know more
Of the Caribbean Sea
Of the Atlantic Ocean

We
Will recall with pride
Our own
So
Goodbye William
Good

Riddance
Welcome
Fedon
Kay sala sé sa'w
Esta es
su casa
This is
your home![8]

Subject, rhythm and structure of this poem, with its short lines creating a particular intensity, recall E.K. Brathwaite's work. The poem ends on a Pan-Caribbean note, with the same sentence – welcoming the "real" heroes – in Patois, Spanish and English. In "Callaloo", Merle Collins celebrates the Grenadians' new pride, and in "The Butterfly Born", the transformation of the Grenadian woman from a timid, oppressed being into someone conscious of her worth and her equal rights.

Women's liberation is portrayed as a goal, and sometimes as a success in several other poems, by both female and by male authors. Usually, difficulties are not voiced; rather, the positive present is favourably compared to the past.

Raising the levels of production – another central effort of the PRG – features prominently in the revolutionary poetry. Again, the best of those poems are written in Creole, the people's language, and go beyond the repeating of slogans:

Now Brudder Man
War you doing?
Life en no joke;
Is not only
Smoke, smoke, smoke.

Come on man
And you woman too;
Forget the I-la-loo;
Take me hand,
Together let's work the land.
Production
Muss build this nation:
What we grow
Dat we go eat,
Dat go be
Sweet, sweet, sweet;

[8]COLLINS 1985:21f. This poem is also reproduced in SEARLE 1984:138 sq. and in *Callaloo* 1984:44 sq.

Real sweet.

So come on man
Let's work the land;
That is our plan,
Ah good plan
Brudder Man.[9]

The work ethics of the hard, "honest" peasant are used to appeal to young people, particularly to the Rastas, to join the national efforts in agriculture (Christine David's "Mr. Idle Hand" attempts the same). "I-la-loo", a pun on the Rasta prefix I, is an example for the teasing tone of the poem; the message comes across very effectively in the short lines Gebon says he uses because they so much resemble spoken language.

Gebon's poem hints at the PRG's problematic relationship with the Rasta community. Although many Rastas, who had been victimized under Gairy, supported the revolution or even had joined the ranks of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), a smaller part of them drifted into opposition, partly because of the government's strict attitudes concerning the cultivation and sale of marihuana. These tensions were exploited by the right-wing opposition: in October 1979, the newspaper *Torchlight* tried to provoke a confrontation between Rastafarians and the PRG. The government overreacted and closed the paper down. The split in the Rasta community deepened, and in July 1981, 76 people – many Rastas among them – were arrested, but never put on trial. These repressive measures, apparently pushed through by hardliners around Bernard Coard and initially opposed by Maurice Bishop, reveal the deficiencies of the PRG in dealing with culturally distinct sectors of the population, and certainly weakened its popular base (for more details, cf. Clark 1987:25 sq.; Campbell 1987:162 sq.).

A further subject area which has inspired some good poetry is the antagonistic relationship between Grenada and the U.S. government whose policies of destabilization took a variety of forms, systematic disinformation being one of the most important ones. The poetic response includes attacks on Ronald Reagan (e.g. Garvin Nantambu Stuart's "Cowboy Gun for Revolution Town"; Chris de Riggs' "The Last Cowboy"), on the U.S. military who were rehearsing the Grenada invasion two years before it actually happened and their complices in the country itself on imperialism worldwide. The powerful rhythms of Helena Joseph's "I Militia", addressed to "Mr. Exploiter", made it one of the most popular poems of its kind:

You spread propaganda

[9]Renalph GEBON, "The Plan", in SEARLE 1984:156.

About Grenada
Through the media
And newspaper
Saying how we doh ha
Human rights in Grenada
And how we mustn't frien with Cuba
Asking them passenger
When they coming to Grenada
'Where are you going to, Grenada?
Don't go over there
Is guns cover the whole area!'
And how Grenada is a disaster
How e have a big boat load ah dead soldier
Stinking in the harbour
Just come out and fight war in Nicaragua.[10]

The poet denounces the attacks on a diplomatic as well as on a propagandistic level which accompanied the revolution from the very beginning of its existence. In official statements by the U.S. administration, in press reports and through rumours, Grenada was presented as a totalitarian, militaristic Soviet outpost in the Caribbean bent on subverting the entire area.

Another outstanding author was Jacob Ross, whose poems centre on the peasants' and workers' lives and attitudes. Having studied linguistics, Ross was aware that Creole as his "own language [...] can be a vehicle of thoughts, sentiments – and also ideas and abstracts that are as complex and profound as any in any other language". From writing what he called "self-righteous and self-centred outpourings", influenced by English models (in Searle 1984:134 f.), he moved to poems celebrating and, sometimes, idealizing the folk:

look there
is a fisherman standing
    dark as a rock
    wid sun in he eyes
muscles hard and tarred as rope
he foot plant firm longside he boat
he raise he voice he shout an' say
'de right is mine to work an' hope
   dis sea is ours
   dis place, we home
an' every drop of salt we own

[10]in SEARLE 1984:162.

I know da I am not alone'.[11]

The strong rootedness and pride of the fisherman, characteristic of the kind of patriotism found among the Caribbean working people, is captured in a few simple lines.

Sometimes, as in the case of Michael "Senator" Mitchell, the reciting of the poetry was accompanied by drums and had the audience join in, clapping:

Whether is a party
Whether is a movie
We goin for the taxi
Like we always in a hurry
We pushing, pushing
We just pushing, pushing
That big fat Mister
With his broad iron shoulder
Trample on his sister
Just to get in before her
We pushing we father
We pushing we mother
We pushing we brother
We pushing we sister
I wonder what's the matter
If we getting further
With this animal character
We just pushing one another
[...]
Grenadians get in the line
The process will be faster
Pushing never
Let us advance to Discipline
Stop all the pushing, pushing
Down with the pushing![12]

The irresistible rhythm of the poem is a good device for making the open didacticism at the end quite bearable. This poem is also a representative example of little, everyday incidents being taken up humourously and commented upon.

Whereas the kind of performance poetry presented so far was generated by the reality of the revolution and can be regarded, because of its vigour and its dimension, as a new social phenomenon, another art form related to it could look back on a relatively long tradition: the calypso.

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[11] "Grenada is not Alone", in SEARLE 1984:133.

[12] "Stop the Pushing", in SEARLE 1984:165f.

The calypso, whose centre has been Trinidad, is a working-class form of artistic expression throughout the English-speaking islands of the Eastern Caribbean. There, the Grenada revolution, which was regarded as a hope for the whole region, triggered off a series of calypsos in its support. Several Grenadians living in Trinidad joined in, among them the famous Mighty Sparrow who, in his "Wanted Man", celebrated Gairy's, Idi Amin's, Somoza's and the Shah's downfall. In Grenada itself, the emphasis of the calypso lyrics shifted from social commentary to revolutionary propaganda. There were still "traditional", ballad-like calypsos, e.g. Mighty Timpo's "Soft-Head Preacher", telling the story of a preacher who tries to convert a calypsonian, but ends up being "converted" to calypso himself.

On the other hand, the progressive tradition of the group *We Tent,* who had supported the NJM's struggle against Gairy from 1977 to 1979, developed into a broad movement which enjoyed the full backing of the PRG. (Presumably, non-revolutionary calypsonians must have had a hard time: Flying Turkey's episode of the audience's hostile reaction to "a tune commenting on some trivial problems" which could be interpreted as a critique of government policies (Searle 1984:225) makes it seem unlikely that people could sing about anything they wanted). Regional festivals were organized, the outlook became more global, and women, youth and children joined the movement.

Thematically, all of the topics mentioned above reappear in the calypso lyrics. Lord Prim explained the purpose of economic diversification, high on the government agenda, in the following chorus lines:

> And I shout out, 'Johnny, give me a piece of we saltfish!'
> He say, 'No, no, no Mister, you can't get it so!'
> And I shout out, 'Johnny kindly give me a piece of we local saltfish!'
> He shout, 'No, no, no Mister, you can't get it so!'
> He told me this saltfish was made in Grenada locally
> So spend your money and help to build your country.[13]

In this case, the artist does not preach directly, but he very skilfully uses the device of a narrator who is enlightened by "the feller" "Johnny" pointing out the advantages of import-substituting production.

The final lines of Flying Turkey's programmatical "Voice of my People" are a good example of the directly political calypso:

> Chant 'Forward ever! Long live our leader!
> Long live Caribbean people, fight on for your victory!'
> Never fall for political games and hypocrisy.
> While some governments tell their people they care

[13] in SEARLE 1984:196f.

Their democracy is five seconds in five years!
'Take out the beam from your own eyes', it is said,
Forget my country, it's theirs that really dread –
And we realise it's our progress that they despise![14]

Revolutionary slogans, Maurice Bishop's rebuttal of the "Westminster democracy",[15] the biblical image denouncing hypocritical arrogance, and the Rasta term "dread" turned against the U.S. form a compact version of much of the official ideology. Often and – in a country under siege – understandably, this mode of thinking was somewhat manichaean in its character, fomenting intolerance and repression.

Other forms of cultural expression which have to be mentioned here are J'Ouvert Carnival, which, according to a 1982 article in the *Free West Indian,* underwent "a dramatic change from the vice and immorality for which it had become characteristic, to its old political and satirical flavour" (in *In Nobody's Backyard* 1984:122), and the flourishing of revolutionary drama, with the formation of a number of new groups.

In spite of the wide thematic, linguistic and qualitative range covered by Grenadian performance poetry, calypso and the intermediate forms using the accompanyment of drums, they shared a common ideological function: They moved, to use Henry's concepts, between the legitimacy demands of the revolutionary state and the identity maintaining (or creating) needs of the population. This was not necessarily a contradiction and at their best, they raised people's self-esteem and stimulated their active involvement in the social process, providing excellent entertainment at the same time. However, it can be doubted whether the excessive sloganeering of some poems did actually promote these goals. By making prolific use of the Creole language, the artists conveyed a new, widely accepted status to it, communicating with the audience to an extent unknown before. The frequent performance became a new, exciting feature of a strengthened popular culture shared by small and large crowds. As a phenomenon unique in the history of Grenada and the entire Caribbean, they are indicative of the creative energies released by the revolution, especially by its educational policies.

Altogether it can be assumed that this literature, as a part of the cultural system, played a positive role in the PRG's attempts to create a new political culture. But it was not enough to counterbalance the particular problems the state policies met in the ideological, religious

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[14] in SEARLE 1984:214f.

[15] "And we speak of democracy [...] we don't just see the question of elections as being democracy but we see democracy as having much more than a just a tweedledum and tweedledee election, more than just a rum and cornbeef convention, more than just a five seconds in five years right to put an X" (BISHOP 1984:188).

and mass comunications subsectors (cf. Henry). The overall progress in transforming the cultural system was modest. The legacy of colonialism with its "psychology of dependence which has crippled the imagination and makes it inoperative in moments of crisis" was identified by George Lamming as one fundamental cause underlying the Grenadian tragedy: the revolutionaries

> were the first men of their generation who had attempted to make a decisive break, a fundamental departure from the old colonial legacy, and who had the power to consolidate that break. But there was no history within their own political culture which they could follow (Lamming 1983:9,12).[16]

This burden, distinguishing Grenada from countries like Cuba and Nicaragua whose governments successfully coped with much greater external pressures, accounts for the ideological rigidity prevailing in the NJM and for the final disaster.[17]

Literary responses to revolution and invasion (1983–1987)

The traumatic experiences of the revolution's "suicide" (Fidel Castro) and of the subsequent U.S.-led invasion were echoed in the work of Caribbean poets such as Dionne Brand, Lasana M. Sekou, Nancy Morejón, Jesús Cos Causse, Audre Lorde, Andrew Salkey, Brother Resistance, Elean Thomas, and Mighty Sparrow. Significantly, their anger, protest and sadness could only be voiced outside Grenada. CIA units of psychological

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[16]Jan Carew, in his narrative history *Grenada: The Hour Will Strike Again*, similarly sees the Coard faction as "victims of a crippling and colonial heritage of psychological dependence. They clung to rules with a passion bordering on idolatry. They saw those rules as eternal biblical truths in a catechism of revolution" (CAREW 1985:264). On the other hand, V.S. NAIPAUL (1984:72), while also pointing out this phenomenon, is predictably hostile to the revolution and draws the conclusion that it was doomed to failure all along: "The revolution depended on language. At one level it used big, blurring words; at another, it misused the language of the people. Here the very idea of study – a good idea, associated in the minds of most Grenadians with self-improvement – had been used to keep simple men simple and obedient [...] The revolution was a revolution of words. The words had appeared as an illumination, a short-cut to dignity, to newly educated men who had nothing in the community to measure themselves against and who, finally, valued little in their own community. But the words were mimicry. They were too big; they didn't fit; they remained words".

[17]For detailed analyses of the events of October 1983, cf. *Generalprobe Grenada* 1984; MANDLE 1985; SCHOENHALS/MELANSON 1985; THORNDIKE 1985; LEWIS 1987; and MARABLE 1987.

warfare helped to push the Grenadian popular culture underground and its most prominent protagonists into exile; strict measures of censorship were implanted.

For writers, the end of the Grenada revolution meant that they were forced to conform to an old pattern: most of the Caribbean literature has been produced and read in Europe and North America; and this ongoing dependency on metropolitan literary infrastructure was drastically reinforced in the case of post-revolutionary Grenada. The hopeful beginnings made in culture and in education were abruptly stopped.

Two outstanding writers, Merle Collins and Jacob Ross, went to London and had their work published there. Merle Collins' anthology *Because the Dawn Breaks!* (1985) includes her great pieces from the revolutionary period as well as a number of poems reflecting on it retrospectively. The most recurrent image is that of a dream which has come to a bitter end:

> you too
> watch now
> with wisdom
> born of living pain
> how we chose
> a golden platter
> to hand across the dreams.[18]

But finally, there is the conviction that the revolutionary achievements can inspire optimism and that the popular confidence gained and celebrated in her earlier poems will eventually contribute to bring about a new dawn.

Jacob Ross produced a collection of short stories, *Song for Simone.* Childhood in rural Grenada is evoked in a series of introspective narrative sketches, which not only highlight the world of the young protagonists but also the plight of the poor peasantry. One of the stories, "Oleander Road", focusses on the consciousness of Damon, a young PRA soldier, during the invasion.

Against his mother's will, Damon decided to resist the invaders, and is now fleeing back home, after narrowly escaping a grenade which killed his fellow- soldiers, "mere children". On his way to Oleander Road, a stream of images, thoughts and episodes of days past floods his mind:

> Once, Mr. Jo-Jo almost chopped his hand off; just for a rotten piece of cane he'd tried to steal from the man's garden [...] Had he chopped it off, there would have been no poems, no 'forward-ever' slogans on the walls, houses and culverts of Oleander Road; neither joy nor miracles expressed with pen

[18] "To Trample Dreams", COLLINS 1985:74.

> or paint. Not that it mattered now. The time of miracles, of making flowers, grow on stones, and the sun rise in children's eyes, had been crushed beneath a storm of guns. (Ross 1986:99).

Memory becomes even more central, as Damon thinks of a proposal of a young government official eager to develop the country's infrastructure by widening Oleander Road, cutting down the plants after which it was named, and tarring it. But the project did not materialize because of the opposition of the older population, in whose collective memory the oleander symbolizes their ancestors' successful flight from the colonizers.

> 'If you cut them down and de sap go in your eye o' mouth, you'z a dead man! It spoil you' blood for good! Is like we: we nice until you try to cut us down; then we turn poison.' (Ross 1986:102).

These words uttered by Yo-Yo receive an additional meaning in the light of the current invasion. Damon, recalling the strength of the community, finds relief and new confidence. He calms down, remembers one of his old poems and starts thinking up a new one.

Merle Collins's *Angel* (1987) is a recent example of a work in the tradition of the Caribbean *Bildungsroman* which characteristically moves beyond the realm of the protagonist's world and depicts life in a Grenadian rural community during more than three decades. The action of the novel, which starts in 1951 – the end of the white landowners' political control in Grenada – and leads beyond the revolution's collapse in 1983, centres on women: on Angel, a baby at the beginning of the novel and a politically active teacher at the end; on her mother, Doodsie, who is the motor of the McAllister family and instrumental in providing a better future for their four children, and on her friends and relatives.

The sociopolitical processes of the Gairy era ("Leader" in the novel) provide the background for the presentation of the protagonists' daily struggles; Leader is a permanent, but only indirect presence, his disputed personality and some of his actions appear in the narratives and opinions of the novel's characters. Throughout, the perspective is "from below": the joys and hardships of the common people, who are the novel's "collective character" – a term appropriately created by George Lamming for his own novels –, constitute an important focus of the narrative. Another one is Angel's socialization in the primary school, the Catholic convent high school, and finally her stay at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica in the late sixties, which provides a convincing explanation for the active role she will play during the revolution. The rich Grenadian Creole and Patois spoken in the novel, and also employed in interior monologue passages, is one outstanding feature which adds to the realism of *Angel*.

In this context, our main interest lies with the final part of the book, dealing with the rise and fall of the Grenada Revolution. The rising popular discontent with Leader's regime and the ensuing repression set the stage for the coup of the "Horizon boys" in March 1979. Although the popular demonstrations contribute to the weakening of the regime, much of the actual confrontation is perceived by the people as rumours, "a lot of talk flyin aroun" (p. 224);[19] and the news of Leader's overthrow reaches them through the radio announcement – it is only then that they flock out into the streets and celebrate victory. Ever since that moment, skepticism towards, or open dissent with, the new government exists and is portrayed in the novel: "Dey playin dey don know bout ballot box?" (p. 231), say some of Leader's supporters. In her school, Angel has to face a conservative majority among her colleagues, who prevent her from being elected an executive member of the teacher's union. The task she has set herself of winning others for the revolution is arduous. On the other hand, Doodsie and Angel's brothers as well as many of her students are enthusiastic supporters of the new ways. Even Allan, her father, formerly a stubborn follower of Leader, is open to ideas that question his attitudes.

A very telling scene, which – like the episode recalled by Damon in "Oleander Road" – highlights the difficulties of communication between the government agents and the people, is the meeting of the zonal council. After listening to a revolutionary poem by middle-aged Miona – performance poetry in its social setting! –, the participants question two government officials responsible for water supply and road construction. One of them is interrupted and criticized for using the language of a technocrat:

> 'Mr. Wellington, ah jus want to say dat what you start to say dey ain make no sense, comrade. We want you to break it up! We don want you to wrap up nutting in big word so dat we caan understand. Is information we want, an we want it clear an simple!' [...] 'I jus want to say that I in the literacy programme. Not all of us did go to High School, through no fault o we own. So just give us de ting straight an simple, like, an ting settle'. (p. 249)

Comrade Wellington complies laughingly, and the meeting is successful. Still, the episode, as well as the curious way the official is addressed, show how difficult it is to reach an egalitarian relationship between state representatives and the people.

Paternalistic, even deeply undemocratic attitudes predominating in the party are one major reason for the tragic events of October 1983. (The

[19] All references are made to the British edition of *Angel* (London, Women's Press, 1987).

external pressures which contribute to bring it about, are alluded to in the symbolic image of the snake, while the successful attack of the chicken-hawk who takes advantage of the fowls' dispersion foreshadows the U.S.-led invasion). But clearly, the perspective of the helpless population, and of the barely better-informed party member, Angel, during the final days reveals just how far the self-proclaimed vanguard party has moved from the people. Rumours about inner-party disputes and the secrecy around them are greeted with a mixture of preoccupation and self-conscious defiance:

> 'Dey not suppose to hide ting from us. Dey on top but is we dat make Revolution. Revolution counta make if weself din go out on de road an make Leader ban give up. Horizon din even have no big army as such! Is we dat do we ting! [...]' (p. 258).

This mood turns into disbelief and anger at the news of Chief's (Bishop's) arrest; as Angel blames Chief for not complying with the party rules and making the conflict public, Doodsie's friend Melba, a strong Chief follower, takes a resolute stand:

> 'Look eh, ah don even doubtin Chief wrong to spread ting dat suppose to be in secret Party he agree to. He well wrong too! If dey Party ha to do wid we Revolution, den we suppose to know bout it! [...]' (p. 259).

Two conflicting views of the situation, Doodsie's popular common sense vs. the position of Angel, the young loyal party member, are summarized in the following exchange:

> 'But they mus listen, Angel. I not sayin is not a confusion in the Party that they know best how to solve but they mus listen to what all of us down here sayin!' 'Is not a question of who down and who up, Mammie.' 'Yes, me chile. Whether you want to see it or not, is always a question of that. Because now what happen? Look eh, when ting just start all of us been speaking with one voice, so was all right then. Was all right because practically everybody was on same side. Now mos people on same side again, saying leggo Chief, but now some of allyou who fight wid us self sayin is because we stupid an we caan see de truth! Perhaps. I not sayin so. But den that is how it is. If a few of you see it an de ress of us don see it, what you go do, tie us down? We moving together of if not, we jus not moving, ah suppose [...] Oh God, if I say ah don disappointed, ah lie. I believe in dis ting too much for this stupidness to happen. Oh, God! Look we airport! Look we education! Look everything! Look how we movin nice! Lawd! No!' (p. 267).

At this point, Angel – who, in an emotional dialogue with her brother Rupert, points out the dilemma that in the dispute, there are no simple truths, and that the two contending factions are partly to blame – still clings to the naive notion of an identity between the party leadership and the people. She is really helpless and desperately hopes that a solution will be found, but she is unable to say how, because she fails to acknowledge the basic truths voiced by Doodsie, Melba, Rupert and others: the secrecy the party members have surrounded themselves with, their unwillingness to take into account the public opinion asking for Chief's release, i.e. their disdain for the people who overwhelmingly support the revolution because of its achievements. It is this split between those "up" and those "down" which leads to disaster.

Doodsie and Melda join the demonstration leading to the dramatic events of 19 October 1983, which also represent the climax of the novel: the people liberate Chief and, in a mood of excitement and confusion, move to the fort. Ironically – and as in Chile 1973 – the slogan "a People/United/Will never be defeated" proves correct: among the crowd, Doodsie spots a well-known follower of Leader chanting anti-communist slogans. This explosive situation ends with shots being fired, the tanks attacking the crowd in the fort, and the murdering of Chief and many of his supporters, including Melda. The chaotic sequence of events is captured by several shifts of perspective (Angel/authorial voice/members of the crowd/soldiers/Melda/Doodsie/Angel's brother Carl and his friend) and scenic dialogues which effectively convey the dramatic range from the initial joy to the final horror of the situation.[20]

The collective trauma which is enhanced by a dusk- to-dawn curfew guarantees the success of the ensuing invasion. Only a tiny part of the population, even including some of Chief's supporters like Rupert, resist, while most Grenadians are relieved to see the defeat of the short-lived military regime. In the fights and bombings, Angel loses one eye; Rupert's girlfriend is killed.

The book ends on both a sobering and an encouraging note: Allan thinks Grenada should become a crown colony again, because the whites "perhaps [...] know how to rule" (p. 283) and Doodsie returns to religious fatalism: "'Look at the fingers of you han, chile. Some long, some short. You can't change the Lord world!'" (p. 286). Their children, however, are not so easily convinced. In the last chapter, Doodsie manages to keep

[20]The events of 19 October 1983 have not yet been investigated sufficiently, since the U.S. government continues to withhold important documents. The trial against Bernard Coard and 13 of his codefendants, who were sentenced to death in late 1986, was deeply flawed.

her fowl together: the chicken-hawk has to turn away. And Angel lights a candle of hope.

Angel is a brilliant and, through its episodic narrative structure, a multifa-ceted account of life under Gairyism, and during the four and a half years of the revolution from the perspective of the common people. It is the first Grenadian work in the tradition of the Caribbean social novel in English which, from the 1950s onwards, has frequently been able to articulate the collective consciousness of the people.

Conclusion

Although the Grenada Revolution was short-lived, it had an impressive impact on the production of literature. Many of the hopes raised by the successes of the new regime found their artistic expression in drama, performance poetry and calypso, which in turn contributed to the most promising aspects of a new political culture. The cultural revolution sparked off by the sociopolitical developments between 1979 and 1983 saw the emergence of writers who continue to produce outstanding poetry and fiction.[21]

However, the failure of the revolution also meant that the social conditions which had made possible the type of performance poetry and calypso presented above vanished overnight. The PRG was replaced with a government willing to give in to U.S. interests in every aspect. The progressive social and educational programs were scrapped, and an outside cultural penetration went on to an extent unknown before: radio and television were put under heavy U.S. influence if not direct control; foreign-sponsored fundamentalist evangelism and anticommunism became rampant. As a result of the widespread disillusionment with the effects of the neoliberal government policies since 1983, the achievements of the revolution were soon remembered with new appreciation.[22]

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ASSIMILATION VERSUS RACISME DANS "NO MAN'S LAND" (1986) DE ROLAND BRIVAL

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La loi d'assimilation est votée le 19 mars 1946. À partir de cette date, les possessions françaises aux Antilles gagnent le statut de départements d'outre-mer, les Antillais obtiennent ainsi la nationalité française.

C'est en avril 1963 qu'est fondé le BUMIDOM, Bureau pour le Développement des Migrations des Départements d'outre–mer. Cette société d'État est mise en fonction pour contrôler les processus d'immigration jusqu'alors spontanée; ce qui n'empêche nullement celle–ci de se poursuivre. Le BUMIDOM contrôle à 60% le processus d'immigration.

On peut lire en juin 1971 dans le rapport général du sixième plan pour les DOM:

> Le rapport sur les principales options tient pour indispensable d'encourager une politique de la natalité en métropole. Dans les DOM, c'est maintenant la politique inverse qui est retenue. Dès lors, la commission propose de les combiner en un ensemble cohérent [...] Dès lors, les deux phénomènes doivent être rapprochés: le surplus de population active des DOM doit compenser le déficit ou une part du déficit métropolitain. Cette compensation peut elle–même se faire de deux façons: on peut rapprocher la main d'œuvre du capital, ou rapprocher le capital de la main d'œuvre. La commission a reconnu qu'il était humainement plus facile d'adopter la première attitude (Lirus 1979:91/92).

De là l'émigration forcée vers la France, qui devient nécessaire pour régler le problème démographique aux Antilles et parer au chômage dans les DOM. Ce sont pourtant les structures économiques qui restent déterminantes.

Ainsi les Martiniquais, comme tous les Antillais se voient obligés de partir en métropole dans la simple nécessité de trouver du travail, tandis que de plus en plus de coopérants du service militaire adapté, outre les forces de l'ordre et les fonctionnaires publics métropolitains, envahissent le marché de l'emploi. C'est ce que Aimé Césaire, Député Maire de Fort–de–France, appelle le "génocide par substitution". En 1982, la "colonie" martiniquaise en métropole représente environ 30% de la population de

l'île; le nombre de Martiniquais nés en métropole était de 95704 en 1982 contre 34816 en 1968 (Mathieu 1988: 39).

A cette migration économique, qui touche d'une part les fonctionnaires du secteur public, mais surtout un prolétariat très nombreux, peu qualifié et donc mal rémunéré, s'ajoute la "migration des cerveaux". En effet, l'infrastructure universitaire aux Antilles oblige les jeunes étudiants à partir vers la France pour compléter leur formation. L'intellectuel doit lui aussi partir en métropole pour donner cours à ses activités.

Roland Brival, auteur du roman *No man's land*, vit lui-même depuis quelques années à Paris. Il est né à Fort-de-France en Martinique où il a été producteur d'émissions culturelles sur FR3 Martinique, la radio-télévision régionale. Il a ensuite dirigé le groupe Boua-Boua Martinique, dont la recherche artistique était pluridisciplinaire, ses spectacles regroupaient en effet théâtre, marionnettes et musique. Avant *No man's land,* il a déjà publié quatre romans dans lesquels l'élément historique joue le plus grand rôle.

Avec *No man's land*, il touche au contraire à un thème d'actualité: la situation de l'émigré en métropole et sa difficulté d'intégration à une société qui non seulement lui est étrangère, mais surtout le rejette. Ainsi Julie Lirus note:

> Son adaptation (c'est-à-dire celle de l'Antillais) est en grande partie fonction du regard des gens qui appartiennent à la société dans laquelle elle veut s'insérer. Le migrant antillais n'est pas un être isolé. Dans l'esprit collectif français il est le représentant d'un groupe perçu d'emblée comme étranger, parce que noir. Si dans les représentations collectives, le groupe est dévalorisé (et c'est le cas), l'individu quel que soit son statut, sera porteur du stéréotype que les gens ont du groupe, ce qui entraîne plus souvent que rarement des relations interpersonnelles tendues (l'Antillais non plus n'est pas neutre) allant jusqu'au rejet, à la discrimination, au racisme (Lirus 1979:73).

Le racisme est devenu un thème d'une effrayante actualité en France, il a pris avec le succès du parti d'extrême droite, le front national, une ampleur politique. Cela ne prouve-t-il pas l'échec de cette politique d'assimilation en vigueur depuis la départementalisation?

Ainsi Jean-Ahmed Balthazar, le héros de *No man's land* est-il une victime de la politique d'assimilation, une "véritable déportation" (Lirus 1979:58). Il est né en France d'un père d'origine algérienne et d'une mère antillaise, il représente ainsi la synthèse de deux mondes qu'une histoire commune réunit, l'histoire de la colonisation. Le héros individuel devient représentatif de deux groupes sociaux opprimés. Jean-Ahmed est français puisque né en métropole de parents eux aussi officiellement

français. Pourtant, la couleur de sa peau, son aspect physique en général lui interdisent l'appartenance au pays de sa naissance. À ce propos, sa mère lui écrit:

> [...] tu demandes pourquoi ton père et moi avons choisi de vous élever parmi les blancs, je ne compte plus les reproches que tu m'as faits à ce sujet (Brival 1986: 22).

Jean–Ahmed est un révolté qui nourrit en lui la rancune d'être né autre que blanc et il répond à son père:

> [...] l'attente sidérale du terroriste guettant l'explosion de la bombe dans les consignes de la gare, le spectre aveugle et sans pitié de la haine raciale – c'est en nous qu'ils ont germés [...] Petit père blanchi à l'école des blancs [...] le boomerang jadis lancé de ta propre main, le voici de retour (p. 38).

A l'inverse de la génération précédante, celle de ses parents, il refuse d'accepter la culture occidentale comme modèle, il refuse un "blanchissage" qui le conduirait à l'échec, au refus de soi–même. Il abandonne donc ses etudes en reconnaissant que:

> Descartes et sa méthaphysique ne pouvaient désormais suffire à me donner le change, lorsque nous ignorons tout encore de la nature réelle de nos pensées, du mécanisme inouï dont elles procèdent. 'Je pense, donc je suis'. L'adage mille fois ressassé par nos maîtres, avait cessé de me séduire (p. 68).

Jean–Ahmed recherche l'absolu.

C'est à partir de son univers carcéral qu'il se souvient de son incessante recherche d'une identité impossible à élaborer. Par le fait qu'il ne puisse se définir que par le regard d'autrui, alors que ce regard hostile ne peut que lui inspirer le refus de soi–même, il ne lui reste que la fuite pour solution. Il rejette toute norme imposée par une société dont il ne peut devenir membre à part entière:

> [...] ces normes ne sont pas faites pour ceux de mon espèce, si l'on persiste à me refuser ma place d'homme dans l'ordre du monde (p. 147).

Il se refugie dans un monde imaginaire où il entraîne sa sœur Fiona, un monde où:

> Nous vivions la fuite, le délire, l'inceste, le monde à l'envers (p.28).

Sa relation avec Fiona ne deviendra incestueuse qu'au niveau du monde à l'endroit, sous le regard des autres:

> Nous savons désormais ce que signifient au regard d'autrui, nos amours incestueuses (p. 76).

Les divers mécanismes d'échappatoire que Jean-Ahmed utilise vont en s'amplifiant au cours du roman:

1. Le mensonge. Il s'invente une identité exotique et plus attrayante que la sienne aux yeux des autres (des blancs). Il se dit américain tout en étant conscient de l'inutilité de sa démarche.
2. Il utilise le voyage à travers l'histoire, à la recherche de ses origines et se revoit dans les couloirs du Musée de l'Histoire comme:

   > visiteur perplexe [...] qui cherche en vain à reconnaître les siens dans les portraits d'ancêtres accrochés aux murs (p. 39).

3. Il s'engage dans l'action politique qui l'entraîne sur les traces de son frère Jérôme, assassiné lors d'une manifestation contre les pratiques racistes du patronat. Il en reconnait également l'inutilité et dit:

   > j'avoue en être arrivé bientôt à me sentir complètement étranger à ces débats, prétextes à des joutes oratoires sans fin et à de non moins nombreuses libations (p. 49).

4. Il fuit dans le monde marginal, le monde parallèle de la drogue où il rencontre Sylvio, qui deviendra le compagnon de Fiona.
5. Il entreprend un voyage à travers le monde, encore une fois à la recherche de ses racines. Il échoue parce qu'il est différent. Il éprouve "le sentiment curieux de son 'étrangeté' " à Fort-de-France et se sent rejeté par:

   > ces Antilles qui [...] s'obstinent à se dérober devant moi [...] îles [...] habiles à refouler vers l'océan les visiteurs inopportuns (p. 88).

   A ce sujet, Edouard Glissant écrit:

   > Le sort de la deuxième génération d'Antillais en France est encore plus inconfortable. Visiblement étrangers, les enfants de cette génération sont définitivement assimilés à la réalité française. En aucun cas ils ne pourraient vivre en Martinique ou en Guadeloupe, où la situation leur deviendrait vite insupportable, pour la raison qu'elle révélerait leur 'différence' d'avec un français, sans les comprendre pourtant dans un Nous différencié.
   > (Glissant 1981:75)

   En Afrique, on le considère blanc.

6. Il fuit dans la marginalité du monde de la criminalité et n'hésite pas à aggresser un conducteur pour voler une voiture.
7. Il fuit enfin ses propres sentiments et désire devenir invulnérable:

> échapper à l'étaux des sentiments pour accéder enfin à cette mort promise où l'homme n'est plus ni noir ni blanc, mais nu et transparent (p. 129).

Jean–Ahmed est du "No man's land", et ce n'est que par le suicide social qu'il aboutira dans sa recherche de l'absolu.

La solution d'échappatoire aux catégories de la société se présente à lui alors qu'il prend à son compte le crime commis contre sa sœur. Il croit ainsi non seulement prendre distance par rapport aux autres, mais aussi par rapport à lui–même; en effet, par la prise en charge du crime, il se détruit lui même, car Fiona représentait la seule personne capable d'éveiller ses sentiments, la seule personne avec laquelle il ait pu s'identifier entièrement. Avec sa disparition, il devient insensible et invulnérable. En endossant le crime, il l'utilise pour accéder à une identité transparente, il échappe ainsi au regard d'autrui.

Il se rend compte que d'être considéré comme criminel ordinaire signifirait échouer, il dit:

> que me resterait–il de l'innocence de mon crime (p.168).

Son crime doit demeurer absurde dans le cadre des normes que lui–même refuse. Jean–Ahmed trouve l'absolu dans l'irrationnel où il retrouve Fiona, le seul endroit où la couleur de la peau n'a plus d'importance; il dit à la fin du roman:

> Nous ne sommes plus rien ni personne. Nous n'avons nul besoin de corps ou de visage, car sur nous le regard des gens ne se pose pas. Enfin redevenus ce que nous n'avions jamais cessé d'être, nous glissons, transparents, dans les couloirs du métro, aux terrasses illuminées des cafés, parmi la foule nonchalente des grands boulevards. Nous sommes, à votre guise, les fantômes ou les elfes des temps modernes (p. 171).

Jean–Ahmed avait tout d'abord tenté de fuire une société qui le rejette et trouve finalement la solution par la fuite de soi–même pour aboutir à l'identité transparente, sans nom:

> Je suis le matricule 2648–B [...] mais ce n'est là qu' une identité toute provisoire (p. 172).

En dehors de toute norme, dans l'irrationnel et la folie où la couleur n'est plus un critère de différence, il est transparent et s'adresse directement à ses lecteurs dans les dernières phrases du roman:

> J'espère atteindre enfin ma délivrance, même s'il m'en coûtera des années [...] Plus d'années qu'il n'en faudra, sans doute, pour que vous perdiez le souvenir de mes actes. Mais je me console à l'idée que notre 'séparation' ne sera qu'éphémère. Et le jour où comme ressuscitée d'une longue absence, la mémoire

> de moi vous reviendra sera celui de ma victoire ultime et décisive. Oui, je sais qu'à compter de ce jour vous et moi ne ferons plus qu'Un (p. 172).

Le racisme ne va-t-il pas à l'encontre de la politique d'assimilation, empêchant par là le héros à accéder à une personnalité authentique.

Jean-Ahmed est en quelque sorte un marron moderne et il correspond à la définition qu'en donne Julie Lirus:

> le pouvoir colonialiste [...] imposera au peuple antillais l'image du nègre marron comme bandit, assassin fuyant le travail donc dangereux pour l'ordre social. Dans ce contexte le nègre qui cherche à s'affirmer en tant qu'homme, à se désaliéner, est un a-social, un noncivilisé qui veut se soustraire à la culture, à la civilisation, un sauvage en sorte! (Lirus 1979:22).

Jean-Ahmed dit de lui-même:

> Un paria. Voilà ce que je suis finalement devenu au contact de vos jungles en béton. (Brival 1986:157)

Cette situation décrite au niveau de la fiction reflète la réalité sociale en France. Pourtant, depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir des socialistes en 1982, il semble qu'on ne soit plus aussi favorable qu'auparavant à la politique de migration qui alimente le racisme. Le BUMIDOM se nomme maintenant ANT, Agence Nationale pour l'Insertion et la Promotion des Travailleurs d'Outre-Mer. Cette nouvelle dénomination indique un changement d'esprit à l'égard des Antillais. Mais bien qu'il s'agisse là d'un phénomène social, la raison en reste la crise économique que la France traverse et le chômage qui en résulte.

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LE "NÈG MAWON" DU XXe SIECLE DANS LE ROMAN "LA VIE SCÉLÉRATE" (1987) DE MARYSE CONDÉ

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Dans le roman *La vie scélérate* de Maryse Condé le petit garçon Dieudonné a été insulté par ses copains d'école d'être un "nèg mawon". Il est caractérisé comme "ce noir garçon joufflu qui écorchait le français et constellait son cahier de pâtés" (Condé 1987:145). Il s'agit sans aucun doute d'une dénomination péjorative attribuée à quelqu'un qui ne satisfait pas aux exigences de la société.

Dieudonné, qui auparavant a vécu à la campagne, vient vivre auprès de sa tante en ville. Il y arrive "les pieds boueux" (p. 145) sur le plancher de la belle maison bourgeoise. Aussi faudra-t-il enlever toutes les traces de sa nature sauvage à l'aide d'une brosse et de savon pour en faire un garçon bien élevé. Ce petit "nèg mawon" devra être éduqué et intégré dans la société civilisée, il devra être protégé par sa tante et les maîtres d'école contre sa nature sauvage qui en a fait, en ville, un marginal de la société civilisée.

Ces instances civilisatrices ne seront pas perçues par le petit "nèg mawon"

> comme une mère douce et bienveillante qui protège l'enfant d'un environnement hostile, mais bien sous la forme d'une mère qui, sans cesse, empêche un enfant fondamentalement pervers de réussir son suicide, de donner libre cours à ses instincts maléfiques. La mère [...] défend l'enfant contre lui-même, contre son moi, contre sa physiologie, sa biologie, son malheur ontologique (Fanon 1961:145).

Le "nèg mawon" du XXe siècle est donc perçu par l'inconscient collectif comme celui qui refuse consciemment ou inconsciemment les règles de la société post-coloniale à laquelle on veut le soumettre.

Le terme "nèg mawon" ou marron vient de l'époque de l'esclavage et désigne les esclaves qui s'étaient enfuit des plantations pour se réfugier loin de la société établie. Ils y ont laissé une place vide qui devait être comblée par un autre esclave disponible ou à acheter par le maître. La fuite d'un esclave oblige donc le maître à agir et à prendre position vis-à-vis du marronnage: d'abord pour remplacer la main-d'œuvre, ensuite pour rétablir son pouvoir mis en question. Le marronnage per se constitue donc un danger pour la société coloniale. Le marron devait être culpabilisé.

Glissant décrit p. ex. la perception du marron par l'inconscient collectif comme suit:

> C'était la coutume de menacer les enfants de les faire enlever par un marron. Car le marron était pour les populations la personnification du diable: celui qui refuse.
> (Glissant 1964:129).

Cette attitude envers le marronnage s'explique par la morale chrétienne de la société coloniale. Le marron refuse par sa fuite la participation aux travaux infligés par le maître auquel il doit l'obéissance et trahit ainsi son devoir envers les hommes et, ce qui est pire encore, envers Dieu. Il s'oppose par son refus à la morale chrétienne prêchant une vie honnête, consciencieuse, assidue et laborieuse. Le marronnage implique donc pour le maître blanc et la société coloniale non seulement une violation du droit humain mais aussi du droit divin.

Pour l'esclave, le marronnage constitue un des moyens de sortir d'une situation insupportable. Il fuit la plantation pour se refugier dans les monts et y rejoint le plus souvent d'autres marrons. Ils y mènent une vie à part de la société coloniale qui reste cependant un point de référence. L'existence de leur communauté n'aurait pas été possible sans le secours des esclaves des plantations et l'acceptation tacite des planteurs dont ils dépendent économiquement. Le marronnage de quelques-uns n'était possible que par la soumission des autres.

> Il [le marron] ne comprenait pas que toute la masse n'aurait pu monter. La forêt n'eût pas suffi à les abriter, encore moins à les nourrir. Il ne savait pas qu'ainsi leur tourment, et même leur acceptation, les protégeaient. Il était en marge. Dès le premier jour il avait refusé (Glissant 1964:94).

Bien que la communauté des marrons soit plus ou moins acceptée par les planteurs et enviée par les esclaves, elle ne cesse pas d'être menacée d'abord par la société coloniale et sa "civilisation", ensuite par la perte du souvenir des racines africaines, c'est-à-dire de l'histoire commune.

Les marrons organisaient alors à plusieurs reprises des révoltes contre les plantations et leur maître. L'histroiographie du colonisateur en fait à peine mention et si elle en parle c'est de façon appropriée à ses intérêts.

> le pouvoir colonialiste aidé par l'Église imposera à la population antillaise l'image du nègre marron comme bandit, assassin, fuyant le travail, donc dangereux pour l'ordre social. [...] Le marronnage se trouve donc récupéré par le Pouvoir pour être offert à l'Antillais comme l'interdit qui le définit et dont la transgression revient à un retour à la barbarie, à la sauvagerie, à la primitivité (Bebel-Gisler 1981:65).

Aussi l'historiographie du colonisateur transforme-t-elle l'image du marron refusant la soumission en un barbare noir et primitif. Cette image est toujours inscrite dans la conscience collective de la société antillaise. Jusqu'au XXe siècle est qualifié de "nèg mawon" celui qui s'oppose à la norme officielle de la société, en essayant de mener une vie autonome et individuelle comme les anciens marrons des mornes.

Le marronnage se manifeste donc sous deux dimensions: d'une part une dimension horizontale où les marrons des différentes plantations se rejoignent soit dans les mornes, soit dans l'espace caraïbéen et aux États-Unis. Il s'agit toujours de descendants d'anciens esclaves refusant la contrainte de la société qui essayent avec plus ou moins de succès de vivre dans une communauté à part dans un espace déjà occupé par la société officielle. Ils ont en commun la couleur de leur peau et la volonté de créer de nouvelles formes de culture et de société alternatives. D'autre part une dimension verticale où les marrons cherchent à reconstituer l'histoire commune de leurs ancêtres africains, des souffrances et des révoltes pendant l'esclavage. Cela implique à la fois le refus de valeurs culturelles universelles et de l'histoire officiellement écrite par l'ancien colonisateur.

Maryse Condé décrit dans *La vie scélérate* (Paris 1987), saga de la famille Louis aux Antilles du début du XXe siècle à nos jours, ces deux dimensions du marronnage. Elle thématise le refus d'Albert Louis, de son fils Jacob et de sa petite fille Thécla d'accepter la place que la société postcoloniale leur impose. Ces personnages marronnent dans l'espace (dimension horizontale) et entrent en contact avec les noirs dans les autres îles des Caraïbes et aux États-Unis pour constater l'aspect commun de leur sort. Jean et Claude Louis, dit Coco, narratrice du roman et fille de Thécla Louis, marronnent par contre dans le temps (dimension verticale). Coco reconstruit l'histoire antillaise à l'aide de la généalogie de la famille Louis. La narratrice, bien qu'elle ne soit pas toujours présente pour le lecteur, ne se réfère plus à la version européenne de l'histoire antillaise, mais suggère au lecteur son point de vue personnel des événements. Elle reste toujours au centre de la narration transmettant ainsi la spécificité de l'être antillais.

C'est Coco qui raconte que son arrière-grand-père Albert Louis profite de la première occasion pour abandonner son travail à la plantation en Guadeloupe. Il se rend à Panama en 1904 pour y participer à la construction du canal et espère y gagner assez d'argent pour que, lors de son retour en Guadeloupe, il puisse jouir d'une plus grande réputation sociale en tant qu'homme de valeur et de "civilisation".

A Panama, Albert Louis s'étonne que les conditions de travail soient encore plus dures qu'à la plantation aux Antilles et que les travailleurs noirs soient traités avec encore moins d'humanité, de plus il s'étonne du fait d'y rencontrer des noirs des autres îles des Caraïbes et des États-Unis

subissant tous le même sort misérable. Dans cette situation, Marcus Garvey – personnage historique – rend visite à "ses malheureux compatriotes, usant leur vie à creuser le canal" (Condé 1987:41) et leur annonce: "Un jour, un jour, la race noire étonnera le monde" (p. 41).

C'est alors qu'Albert se rend compte que lui et les autres noirs vivent dans la plus grande misère matérielle et spirituelle. Il s'efforce de devenir un homme distingué et instruit: il arrête de boire, il apprend l'Anglais et l'Espagnol, il découvre Marcus Garvey dont les idées donnent un nouveau sens à sa vie. Au cours de telles réflexions Albert croit comprendre que les Blancs ne sont pas seulement à l'origine du malheur des Noirs, mais aussi à l'origine du malheur des Chinois et des Indiens. Il se solidarise avec eux et passe un certain temps de sa vie chez les Chinois à San Francisco.

Albert commence à croire en la beauté et l'équivalence de la race noire. Cela signifie pour lui que le Noir n'est pas inférieur de par sa nature, mais qu'il arrive même à dépasser les Blancs. Il s'agit pourtant toujours pour lui d'assimiler la "civilisation" occidentale qu'il ne met en question à aucun moment. Cette nouvelle forme de vie est contradictoire, car d'un côté Albert est fier de la couleur de sa peau et de sa valeur comme homme noir (au niveau pensée), mais de l'autre il ne cesse pas d'aspirer aux valeurs occidentales, donc blanches, afin d'être reconnu par la société antillaise aliénée par les normes françaises (au niveau action). Bien que les idées de Marcus Garvey lui aient transmis une certaine fierté de lui-même, elles ne sont pas la base d'une nouvelle conception de vie alternative.

Albert Louis rentre en Guadeloupe avec assez d'argent pour ouvrir un commerce à La Pointe afin d'y vivre dans une grande maison en pierre à la façon européenne. Grâce à sa richesse il fait partie de la petite bourgeoisie composée de mulâtres et de noirs de professions académiques. Ces "instruits" ne l'acceptent pourtant pas, car pour eux toute ascension sociale est étroitement liée aux études ou au moins à un séjour en France (et non pas à Panama ou aux États-Unis) et à une maîtrise parfaite de la norme française de sorte qu'elle devient presque une caricature. Le degré de maîtrise de la langue française indique le degré d'assimilation de l'individu. Aussi la mère d'Albert est-elle méprisée, car elle ne parle qu'un français surchargé d'expressions créoles. Bien qu'il soit riche et qu'il soit envié à cause de son argent, Albert Louis n'est pas intégré dans cette petite bourgeoisie parce qu'il a mal assimilé la norme française. Selon cette bourgeoisie, Albert aurait accumulé l'argent à l'aide d'un quimbois (kimbwa), un reproche qui leur permet de se distinguer officiellement de la famille Louis. La petite bourgeoisie "instruite" qui ne devrait plus croire au quimbois à cause de l'assimilation des normes européennes manifeste ici son ambiguïté: il y a donc contradiction entre pensée "traditionnelle" et action "civilisée".

Albert, qui rêve de la liberté des Noirs en Guadeloupe, propage dans un premier élan après son retour au pays les idées de Marcus Garvey et s'engage dans la politique pour inciter ses compatriotes noirs à refuser l'oppression. Mais il y renonce bientôt à cause de l'hostilité de la société, dont l'idéal est, à cette époque, indubitablement l'intégration dans la civilisation blanche. Les mulâtres et les Blancs ainsi que la bourgeoisie noire voient en lui quelqu'un qui ébranle leur propre situation sociale acquise avec grande peine à l'aide de l'instruction française. Le peuple, c'est-à-dire les travailleurs agricoles à la campagne, se moquent de l'idée "de la beauté de la race noire". Aussi Albert prend-il ses distances à l'égard de ses compatriotes noirs qu'il croit encore plus mesquins que les mulâtres et les Blancs. Le pouvoir de l'argent remplace son manque d'instruction et l'échec de ses rêves politiques.

Son fils Jacob est donc tenu d'accumuler de l'argent et de s'occuper de ses affaires commerciales bien qu'il ait préféré continuer ses études. Ils exploitent leurs compatriotes noirs qui, pour améliorer leur condition de vie, ont quitté la campagne pour s'installer en ville. Ce n'est que Thécla qui fera des études et semble par là réaliser le rêve de son grand-père Albert et de son père Jacob d'être reconnu à part entière par la société antillaise (bourgeoise). Elle a une enfance douloureuse, enfermée pour assimiler une éducation bourgeoise française et coupée de son entourage antillais.

> Les jours ordinaires, c'était des leçons de piano, de violon, de danse, de chant, de catéchisme et aussi de mathématiques car elle ne comprenait rien au carré de l'hypothénuse. Pas étonnant qu'elle haïsse son enfance (p. 138).

Comme tout ce qu'elle apprend n'a rien à voir avec la société dans laquelle elle vit et dont font partie ses propres parents, elle les méprise et essaie pendant presque toute sa vie de ne pas leur ressembler.

> Ils me faisaient honte. Je leur reprochais d'être trop noirs. D'être sans instruction. Ma mère ne savait rien de rien. Elle ne pouvait parler que de ses recettes de cuisine et de ses rêves. [...] Et en même temps, elle se croyait sortie de la cuisse de Jupiter. Elle méprisait tout le monde à cause de son argent (p. 129).

De crainte de ressembler à ses parents, elle n'arrive pas à mener une vie autonome, mais elle est obsédée par l'idée d'être leur contraire. C'est donc précisément à cause de cette formation intellectuelle, c'est-à-dire de l'intériorisation de la norme européenne qu'elle prend ses distances à l'égard de sa société d'origine.

D'abord Albert, ensuite Jacob qui épouse également les idées de Marcus Garvey, rêvent de la liberté du "peuple noir". Mais ces idées, nées et enracinées dans la société jamaïcaine, qui ont fait naître sur cette île les

communautés et les cultures alternatives des rastafaries, n'est pour la Guadeloupe qu'un modèle culturel aussi étranger que celui des Français. Il vient de l'extérieur, bien qu'il soit développé et vécu par des Noirs ayant un sort semblable à celui des Antillais. Il est par conséquent voué à l'échec.

Thécla rejoint son père et son grand-père par la volonté de s'engager à libérer le "peuple noir". Elle épouse également les idées révolutionnaires nées en dehors de son île natale et commence à rédiger des analyses sur la condition des Noirs; les sujets en changeront en fonction de ses déplacements en France, en Angleterre, aux États-Unis, en Jamaïque et en Haïti. La volonté de rendre service à la race noire n'est pourtant pas née d'une nécessité intérieure, mais du désir de compenser l'offense de la famille mulâtresse qui l'a refusée à cause de la couleur de sa peau et de prouver à ses parents qu'elle vaut autant du point de vue intellectuel que les Blancs.

Son éloignement de la réalité sociale aux Antilles se manifeste avec évidence lorsqu'elle parle aux représentants du parti des Patriotes en Guadeloupe.

> Tout laisse à supposer que l'incapacité de Thécla à s'exprimer en créole irrita. Et plus encore cette manie qu'elle avait d'émailler le français de petits mots anglais: 'Well', 'I mean', 'Let's see' [...] Tout se gâta irrémédiablement quand les Patriotes parlèrent avec mépris de l'Amérique et que Thécla leur appela la grandeur du combat que les noirs y menaient, s'étonnant qu'ils ignorent pratiquement tout de Malcolm X et de Martin Luther King (p. 211).

L'emploi de la langue créole est une manifestation politique des Indépendantistes qui insistent sur la spécificité de la culture antillaise basée sur le créole et le droit à la différence. Les luttes et les expériences des anciens esclaves noirs, soit aux États-Unis, soit en Jamaïque, ne sont donc pas transmissibles aux Antilles françaises. Thécla qui a fait siennes ces idées révolutionnaires, s'est éloignée de sa société d'origine sans pour autant s'enraciner dans une autre culture. Les voyages aux quatre coins du monde qu'elle fait avec son mari démontrent son déracinement et l'errance qui en résulte.

Ni Albert, ni Jacob, ni Thécla ne sont capables de créer une culture et une société alternatives bien qu'ils refusent la société antillaise telle qu'elle existe. Ils cherchent leurs modèles d'identification en dehors de leur propre espace vital et s'éloignent par là de leur racine, c'est-à-dire de leur propre réalité sociale aux Antilles. Ils n'ont pas vraiment réussi à se libérer de la norme française intériorisée afin de pouvoir mener une vie alternative. Leur prétendue évasion de la société antillaise a certes amélioré leur situation sociale personnelle, mais elle a eu lieu à l'intérieur des normes de cette même société. Elle confirme l'idéal établi de l'as-

cension sociale par l'assimilation de la norme française. Il s'agit dans les trois cas d'un marronnage dans l'espace sans aucun enracinement dans le temps. Les idées de Marcus Garvey, de Malcolm X ou de Martin Luther King – de même que le socialisme ou le communisme de certains mouvements en Guadeloupe – ne sont efficaces que dans un contexte historico-social bien déterminé, elles ne constituent pas un modèle universel qui permettrait le surgissement de cultures et sociétés alternatives dans un contexte social autre que celui où elles sont nées.

Jean Louis, frère de Jacob et oncle de Thécla, ne marronne pas dans l'espace, mais dans le temps. Il refuse une formation en France et reste en Guadeloupe pour y travailler comme instituteur à la campagne. Jean fait des efforts pour s'adapter à la vie simple. Il réapprend le créole et se fait expliquer les coutumes et le savoirfaire transmis depuis des générations. Fixer par écrit le savoir des anciens est devenu le but suprême de sa vie. Aussi écrit-il au cours de 7 ans l'œuvre *La Guadeloupe inconnue.* Il récupère par là l'histoire des coutumes antillaises et les revalorise. Ce livre prouve l'existence d'une culture antillaise qui, en 1953, date de sa publication, est en train de perdre ses fonctions, car les Antilles sont devenues, depuis 1946, "une zone de consommation de produits importés de France, qu'ils soient economiques ou culturels" (Bebel-Gisler 1981:91). Tant que les Antilles produisaient pour la Métropole, la culture antillaise était vécue sur les plantations, mais devenues une zone de consommation, une telle culture ne correspond plus à aucune activité quotidienne. Jean s'oppose donc à la tendance officielle de la société antillaise de se rapprocher, en tant que citoyen français, le plus possible à la culture française pour participer au progrès technique importé.

Cette dépendance économique, politique et culturelle sans cesse croissante qui amène à une passivité presque totale dans ces trois secteurs, provoque un mécontentement collectif et fait naître le parti des Indépendantistes. Jean Louis en devient le président d'honneur, car

> ils étaient convaincus que les politiciens traditionnels, tout occupés de prébendes, ne pouvaient sortir notre pays de l'ornière où il s'enfonçait depuis la guerre (p.168).

Jean, qui auparavant avait déjà refusé la culture officielle – il avait p. ex. enseigné la géographie et l'histoire de la Guadeloupe au lieu de celles de la France –, et qui vivait auprès des paysans, se prêtait donc bien à leurs fins politiques. Lorsque les Indépendantistes commettent un attentat, Jean y perd la vie et devient le martyr du parti.[1] Il s'y prête bien d'autant plus qu'il est issu d'une famille bourgeoise (donc de la classe dominante) qu'il a abandonnée pour organiser la révolte des paysans (de

[1] "En réalité, c'était Anaïse, la femme-fleur bafouée, qui l'avait entrainé à ce sacrifice" (p. 264).

la classe dominée). Les Indépendantistes le mettent sur la liste des héros à côté de Toussaint Louverture, Dessalines, Marcus Garvey etc.

A cette époque, la conscience collective en Guadeloupe avait changé visiblement de sorte que, maintenant, une forme de société et de culture alternatives semble souhaitable et possible aux Antilles.

> Ceux-là qui le [Jean Louis] dénigraient la veille l'encensèrent, ce qui fit qu'on se ressouvint de *La Guadeloupe inconnue* qui dormait dans la poussière des librairies et qu'il s'en vendit en un ou deux mois mille sept cent cinquante exemplaires. Plus grave encore, les communistes qui avaient toujours considéré mon grand-oncle comme un fou risible, mais inoffensif, réalisant l'effet de sa mort sur notre peuple qui, c'est vrai, a besoin de martyrs, le récupèrent (p. 263).

Sa lutte pour l'indépendance de la Guadeloupe n'était plus une action solitaire comme, auparavant, la rédaction de *La Guadeloupe inconnue,* mais correspondait à un besoin réel de la société.

> Ah oui, soupiraient les vieux tirant sur leurs pipes, c'était un mal-nèg, un nègre marron, en vérité! On n'avait pas vu de nègres comme lui depuis (p. 269).

Dans sa vie et dans son œuvre Jean a marronné dans le temps en recueillant l'histoire antillaise auprès des paysans. Il a montré par là une forme de culture et de société alternatives qui ne pourra cependant s'imposer aux Antilles que lorsque la dépendance économique et politique de la France sera surmontée par l'indépendance.

Jean Louis ne fait cependant que recueillir et fixer par écrit (niveau pensée) la culture antillaise tandis que les paysans qu'il rencontre et qui la lui expliquent, la vivent réellement (niveau action). Cette culture antillaise trouve son plein épanouissement dans le créole, la musique et la danse qui étaient, dès l'arrivée des esclaves aux Antilles, la base d'une culture spécifique permettant l'affirmation d'une identité et la survie dans des conditions difficiles. Ces éléments étaient un moyen de résistance et l'expression de la conscience collective, ce qu'ils sont restés jusqu'à nos jours. C'est ainsi que Gesner traduit par sa musique l'âme du peuple antillais et chacun s'y reconnaît.

> Quel musicien! [...] Car la musique de Gesner ne parlait pas simplement aux sens comme biguine, mais au cœur et à l'âme. Elle ne faisait pas simplement gigoter les jambes et onduler les hanches. Elle éveillait en chacun, mystérieuse, le désir d'aimer, d'échanger, de partager, et il n'était pas rare au cours des concerts que deux inconnus se serrent l'un contre l'autre et s'embrassent. Quand aux paroles qui l'accompagnaient, elles n'étaient jamais vulgaires ni grivoises, mais poétiques, un tantinet lyriques! (p. 185).

La musique de Gesner ne saisit pas seulement le corps, mais touche aussi le cœur et traduit les sentiments les plus profonds sans que l'homme réfléchit sur leurs formes concrètes. Tandis que le discours en créole qui décrit le vécu antillais demande toujours un certain effort d'abstraction et de concrétisation, donc une distanciation du vécu, la musique relie les individus au niveau émotionnel dans une expérience commune. Elle invite par là à la participation active à la vie communautaire offrant ainsi un moyen d'influencer l'avenir. Tandis que Jean Louis a fixé par écrit l'expérience vécue des Antillais sans y participer profondément, Gesner tonalise la littérature orale sous forme de poésie chantée. Les deux hommes conservent ainsi pour la postérité l'histoire de la collectivité antillaise sous deux formes différentes. Il ne s'agit pas dans les deux cas de l'histoire telle que le colonisateur l'avait écrite, c'est-à-dire vue de l'extérieur, mais d'une histoire authentique reconstruite à partir du vécu antillais.

Thécla est aussi profondement touchée par la musique d'abord celle de Gesner, ensuite celle d'Ottavia. Lorsqu'elle habite en Jamaïque, elle l'invite pour y arranger un concert qui s'avère cependant un échec pour plusieurs raisons. Très peu de gens y assistent et la musique n'est pas appréciée par le public jamaïquain.

> Ottavia [...] démontra que c'était absurde de parler créole à des Jamaïquains et simpliste de s'imaginer que la musique était une sorte d'espéranto compréhensible pour tous. 'Chaque musique véhicule une culture et chaque culture est une île.' (p. 252).

La musique en tant que véhicule d'une culture spécifique et de l'identité d'un peuple est profondément enracinée à un endroit géographique et historique et ne représente pas une valeur universelle. Aussi les Noirs dans chacune des îles des Caraïbes et aux États-Unis ont-ils leur propre musique. Bien qu'ils aient tous la peau noire et qu'ils aient tous souffert de l'esclavage, leur culture s'est développée à partir de données sociohistoriques différentes, aussi la musique en tant qu'expression du vécu reflète-elle forcément cette différence. Les Noirs peuvent bien manifester une certaine sympathie pour la musique des îles voisines, elle n'est cependant pas l'expression de leur propre culture et n'évoque pas cet effet d'identification comme l'aurait fait la musique de leur propre communauté.

Le marronnage dans le temps signifie donc d'abord le refus de l'histoire officielle, c'est-à-dire d'une histoire qui définit les Antilles en fonction de la France; ensuite la restitution d'une histoire antillaise basée sur les coutumes et le savoir-faire des anciens pour qu'ils ne se perdent pas complètement. Jean Louis a commencé ce travail de récupération histo-

rique avec *La Guadeloupe inconnue*. Gesner continue cette restitution de la mémoire par la musique et invite (la narratrice) Coco à en faire autant.

> Regarde ce pays, le nôtre, le tien, à l'encan. Bientôt peut-être, il ne sera plus qu'un souvenir qui s'amenuisera petit à petit dans les mémoires. Moi, ce que j'essaie de faire, c'est de lui garder sa voix. Et toi aussi, tu peux, tu dois faire quelque chose (p. 333).

Coco, la narratrice du roman, assume cette tâche en racontant l'histoire de sa propre famille.

Elle a fait des efforts pour retrouver sa famille en Guadeloupe, car sa mère l'avait abandonnée chez une nourrice en Bretagne. Ensuite elle a erré avec sa mère à travers le monde à la recherche d'une vie alternative. Sa mère Thécla a échoué dans ces recherches. Elle a souffert toute sa vie parce que d'une part elle a voulu vivre en pleine liberté dans une société alternative et de l'autre elle a refusé cette "liberté individuelle" pour s'engager (par devoir moral) dans la lutte pour la liberté du peuple noir. Elle n'a pas réussi à résoudre cette contradiction. Sa fille Coco a cependant réussi à se réenraciner en Guadeloupe. Elle restitue d'abord pour elle-même l'histoire de sa famille à l'aide de vieilles photos que lui montre son grand-père et se décide ensuite à écrire l'histoire de sa famille.

> [...]ce serait mon monument aux morts à moi. Un livre bien différent de ceux ambitieux qu'avait rêvés d'écrire ma mère: *Mouvements révolutionnaires du monde noir* et tutti quanti. Un livre sans grands tortionnaires ni somptueux martyrs. Mais qui pèserait quand même son poids de chair et de sang. Histoire des miens (p. 325).

Il incombe donc à la narratrice Coco de restituer le temps autrement perdu parce qu'oublié. Ce temps retrouvé servira à construire l'avenir d'une société alternative. C'est pour cela que Gesner l'appelle " [...] toi, tu es l'enfant de notre demain. Penses-y!" (p. 333). Sans un marronnage dans le temps, c'est-à-dire le refus de l'histoire écrite authentique sous quelque forme que ce soit, qui se prête à l'identification, aucune forme de culture et de société alternatives n'est possible. Et cette restitution de l'histoire et le réenracinement aux Antilles ne deviennent possibles que lorsque la dépendance économique, politique et culturelle est terminée, car la liberté est une condition préalable au développement de toute culture et société. Maryse Condé montre dans le roman *La vie scélérate* plusieurs formes de refus, d'errance et de tentatives de réenracinement en dépit de la scélératesse de la vie. Le marronnage dans l'espace (l'errance) n'a d'effets positifs que lorsqu'il est suivi d'un marronnage dans le temps, c'est-à-dire d'une prise de conscience historique et d'un réenracinement dans l'île natale. Et ce réenracinement spirituel ne pourra se réaliser plei-

nement au niveau du vécu que lorsque la situation de dépendance sera modifiée.

Le roman décrit la vie en Guadeloupe du début de ce siècle jusqu'à nos jours de la perspective d'une antillaise – de la narratrice Coco – dont le centre vital reste toujours la Guadeloupe malgré ses voyages et sa vie à l'étranger. L'Afrique et l'Europe perdent leur importance comme points de référence pour les protagonistes, tandis que la vie des Noirs dans les autres îles des Caraïbes et aux États-Unis acquiert un certain poids. Il n'y a pas de narrateur omniscient, mais des événements historiques objectifs sont présentés dans une perspective subjective. Ainsi l'auteur construit une partie de l'Histoire antillaise qui n'a été traitée que rarement jusqu'aujourd'hui. Cette construction de l'Histoire d'une perspective antillaise et non française pourrait, de même que l'œuvre *La Guadeloupe inconnue* de Jean Louis, la musique de Gesner et l'œuvre de la narratrice Coco dans la réalité fictive du roman, contribuer à la naissance d'une nouvelle forme de culture et de société alternatives aux Antilles.

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V

Economy and Development

ENTRE LA GRANJA DEL PUEBLO Y LA COOPERATIVA DE PRODUCCIÓN AGROPECUARIA

Un ensayo de interpretación de condicionantes de las actitudes campesinas cubanas contemporáneas

Andrzej Dembicz (Warszawa)

> La humanidad pronto deja de ser capaz de comprender la diversidad, si por algún tiempo se ve privada de ella.
>
> John Stuart Mill

Las dos nociones institucionales nombradas en el título tienen un significado simbólico. El primero corresponde al nombre de empresas agropecuarias estatales creadas en 1960, el segundo a la reciente – a partir de 1975–77 – modalidad de cooperativas que funcionan en base a la propiedad común de la tierra y medios de producción. Estas dos nociones simbolizan el inicio y la actualidad del trayecto del complejo agro–rural cubano constituyendo las dos márgenes entre las cuales se desenvuelven las posibles actitudes sociales y económicas del campesino cubano.

El ensayo surgió como efecto de la inquietud intelectual frente a los procesos actuales y particularmente por la conciencia de presenciar probablemente los últimos años de la existencia del campesinado, si los programas establecidos se cumplen. Sin embargo, el término *campesino* no se usa por la proyección de añoranzas, sino para subrayar toda la carga socio–cultural que hay detrás de esta noción, lo cual no es tan evidente al hablar de la agricultura individual o familiar.

Para evitar la necesidad de referencias de carácter general a los procesos de transformación social, económica y política ocurridos en Cuba a partir de 1959, se parte de la premisa que los mismos, siendo ampliamente conocidos, no necesitan ser objeto de exposición. Lo mismo concierne a lo que pudiéramos llamar logros básicos alcanzados por Cuba en el plano de la educación y salud pública básicamente y que constituyen una parte integral de la vida actual en las áreas rurales.

El estudio está basado sobre los datos oficiales y las experiencias acumuladas a través de investigaciones de campo realizadas en numerosas

oportunidades desde 1965 y que durante los últimos tres años se centran sobre las Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria.[1]

El campesino cubano: premisas prerrevolucionarias

El análisis de las fuentes y de estudios sobre la historia social y económica de Cuba indica que, a pesar de una larga y fuerte tradición rural, la tradición campesina es bastante poco significativa. Las tradiciones de tenencia de la tierra en forma de predios medianos y pequeños, como uno de los atributos de campesinidad, para realizar la economía agropecuaria de carácter familiar, eran poco abundantes. Como tales habría que considerar "sitios de labor" o "estancias" dedicados por principio y definición al cultivo de frutos de la tierra, legumbres y otros artículos alimenticios de primera necesidad. Más tarde se les juntaron "vegas de tabaco" también en general de tamaño familiar. En 1827, el censo poblacional y económico de Cuba evidenció que entre algo más de 30 mil predios rurales de distinta clase había sólo cerca de 14 mil sitios de labor y 5.5 mil vegas de tabaco, o sea, apenas un poco más del 50% de todos los predios constituían fincas familiares que pudieran ser consideradas cuna de la futura campesinidad cubana.[2]

En aquella época también pudiera buscarse en la rebelión de los vegueros contra el Real Estanco y su sangrienta represión en 1723 los orígenes

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[1] Investigaciones conjuntas sobre la "Cooperativización de la agricultura en Cuba y su papel en la organización de la sociedad y el espacio rural a nivel local", realizadas conjuntamente por la Facultad de Geografía y Estudios Regionales de la Universidad de Varsovia (Departamento de América Latina) y la Facultad de Geografía de la Universidad de La Habana. Los efectos de la primera etapa de estudios fueron publicados en el Tomo 9 de Actas Latinoamericanas de Varsovia, que constituye un tomo especial dedicado a la colaboración polaco–cubana en la geografía y ciencias afines.

[2] Datos tomados del *Cuadro estadístico de la Siempre Fiel Isla de Cuba, correspondiente al año 1827* de F.D. VIVES, La Habana 1829. En el censo fueron distinguidas las siguientes clases de fincas rurales: haciendas principales (hatos, corrales y realengos), haciendas o sitios de crianza, ingenios y trapiches, cafetales, algodonales, potreros de cría y ceba, sitios de labor y estancias, vegas de tabaco. De los 449 ingenios existentes en el Departamento Occidental, 93 estaban en fomento en los sitios de labor precisamente, dato que aún más limita el alcance de la agricultura de carácter pequeño o mediano familiar. De las categorías citadas existían según el censo: 33.112 fincas rurales, de ellas: 13.947 sitios de labor y 5534 vegas situadas en un 60% en el Departamento Occidental donde también las tradiciones campesinas son más largas y más fuertemente, hasta hoy, arraigadas.

de las luchas reivindicatorias por los derechos económicos e identidad "guajira".[3]

La explosión de la agricultura familiar y la formación acelerada de la categoría social y económica del campesinado tuvo lugar apenas a partir del último cuarto de siglo XIX con los cambios estructurales y tecnológicos en el complejo azucarero, cambios en la estructura económica nacional y con la masiva inmigración europea que alimentó la colonización rural y el fomento de la nueva clase campesina.[4]

El censo de 1946 arrojó oficialmente a casi 160 mil fincas rústicas de las cuales alrededor de 140 mil fincas familiares de hasta 50 has.[5]

Dos terceras partes de los predios rurales eran manejados por personas cuya condición legal como agricultores era provisional: arrendatarios, subarrendatarios, aparceros, precaristas. Es verdad que con los cambios de modernización de la agricultura cubana entre 1940 aproximadamente y 1959, por una parte sucedía la proliferación de fincas medianas y pequeñas por la descentralización del manejo de las grandes propiedades, pero por otra iba en aumento el número de tenedores provisionales de la tierra. El año 1959 y la primera reforma agraria presencian entre 160 y 200 mil fincas. Realmente es difícil decir con exactitud el monto de las fincas afectadas por la primera y segunda leyes de reforma agraria. Distintos datos oficiales establecen, sin embargo, la cantidad de fincas privadas que emergen de este primer período de cambios en alrededor de 155 mil predios de hasta 67,1 has.[6]

A pesar de la bastante reciente historia campesina fue, y es notable aún, la diferenciación regional campesina, debido a la diversidad de paisajes naturales, procedencia étnica y racial, dedicación agrícola, etc. Todo esto, hasta ahora poco estudiado pero de gran importancia, permite diferenciar fácilmente identidades campesinas de algunas partes de Cuba, como por

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[3]Compárese una descripción muy detallada del suceso en J. RIVERO MUÑÍZ, *Tabaco, su historia en Cuba,* La Habana, 2 t.

[4]El saldo migratorio de Cuba entre 1898 y 1929 resultó de 1250 mil inmigrantes en relación con 1527 mil habitantes censados en Cuba en 1899.

[5]Distintos autores suponen que el dato oficial es excesivamente bajo, ya que no se reportan propiedades, tenencias dobles o numerosos casos de aparceros o precaristas. Analiza esta cuestión más detalladamente J. CASAS en *L'agriculture néo-coloniale cubaine: lieux communs et réalités,* INRA (Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique), Montpellier, Octobre 1983, p. 27–76. En nuestro caso lo importante es la proporción de predios de tipo supuestamente familiar y de las fincas de tenencia provisional o precaria.

[6]C.R. RODRÍGUEZ en "El nuevo camino de la agricultura cubana", *Cuba Socialista,* 27, cita a 154.703 fincas de pequeños campesinos como resultado de la Segunda Ley de Reforma Agraria. A. NÚÑEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La Reforma Agraria de Cuba,* La Habana 1966, habla de 156.217 fincas campesinas que perduraron hasta después de dicha ley.

ejemplo la intramontana de Pinar del Río, villaclareña, camagüeyana, u oriental en no menos de sus tres modalidades, para mencionar algunas más notables.

Creo que el análisis realizado permite formular las siguientes conclusiones al respecto:

> Primero, que la tradición campesina, aunque variada culturalmente, en general resulta limitada. Segundo, que el aferramiento a la tierra como función de la característica anterior fue al final del período analizado relativamente bajo, aunque de intensidad ostensiblemente diversa en distintas partes del país.

Las reformas agrarias

El proceso fue gradual, como gradual fue la definición de los objetivos y metas. Las metas iniciales idealistas fueron armadas de soportes pragmáticos que pronto lograron cambiar sustancialmente los cuadros originalmente imaginados. Los vehículos básicos de cambios de la estructura social en el campo fueron las leyes de la reforma agraria:

- La Primera Ley de Reforma Agraria del 17 de mayo de 1959 limitando la cantidad de la tierra en manos de una persona natural o jurídica a 402 has (30 cab.), salvo algunas excepciones;
- La Segunda Ley de Reforma Agraria del 3 de octubre de 1963, que limitó la propiedad privada a 67.1 has (5 cab.), salvo algunas excepciones.[7]

Sin embargo, la cronología de los sucesos resulta algo más complicada y no tan unívoca como parecería a simple vista.

En efecto de la ley de 1959, pasaron al estado alrededor de 3.6 millones de has., fueron hechos propietarios alrededor de 100 mil antiguos arrendatarios y otros campesinos, quedando el sector privado con alrededor de 5.5 millones de has. Durante el lapso entre la primera y segunda reformas agrarias la superficie de tierras privadas disminuyó en alrededor de 1.4 millones de has. como resultado de, entre otros, la aplicación de las leyes

[7]En el caso de la ley de 1959, entre las excepciones se contaban las áreas de caña y de arroz con rendimientos superiores en un 50% o más del promedio nacional y las entidades ganaderas que ostentaban la intensidad de la cría indicada por el INRA. No obstante, en ningún caso una persona natural o jurídica podía disponer de una extensión superior a 100 caballerías, o sea, 1341 has. En el caso de la ley de 1963, entre las pocas excepciones contaban fincas, propiedad de distintos miembros de la misma familia (hermanos), trabajadas en común, no excediendo ninguna de las propiedades individuales de 5 cab. (67.1 has.).

de Recuperación de Bienes Malversados y la modificación del Artículo 24 de la Ley Fundamental.[8]

Mientras tanto, en 1960 fue dispuesta la creación de las Granjas del Pueblo, entidades estatales que se fundaban en las tierras de los latifundios no cañeros y de las Cooperativas Cañeras donde los latifundios cañeros. Con esto se dio el inicio a la estructura tripartita de la tenencia de la tierra: privada, colectiva y estatal. Sin embargo, dos años más tarde, por razones de índole política y económica las cooperativas se autoconvirtieron[9] en Granjas Cañeras estatales. De esta manera en 1962 el sector estatal aumentó con 1.07 millones de has. Así, al finalizar el cuarto año del gobierno revolucionario quedaron en manos del sector privado alrededor de 2.7 millones de has.[10] La evolución de las proporciones entre los tres sectores sociales lo muestra el Cuadro 1.

Resumiendo esta parte del proceso, hay que señalar dos cuestiones fundamentales para el problema principal del presente ensayo. En primer lugar perduró la división dicotómica, inclusive acentuándose por falta de explotaciones medianas, del complejo rural en dos clases de predios: grandes y pequeños. Esta dicotomía implicaba, obviamente, la persistencia de ciertas reglas de juego, entre ellas de patrones de organización preferenciales para la agricultura de gran escala (estatal), ahora basada en su manejo y funcionamiento no sólo sobre leyes económicas sino también (o en primer lugar) políticas. La permanencia del dominio de la agricultura de gran escala, que a pesar de la revolución social iniciada y continuada, monopolizaba la vida social y económica provocó la marginación, en muchos sentidos, de la masa campesina de los antiguos y recientes propietarios agrícolas.

A su vez con la reducción al mínimo de la agricultura cooperativa la idea de una agricultura comunitaria, diferente a la anterior fue sustituida por la idea de la agricultura estatal, ajena al sentido de responsabilidad individual y del grupo social e igual que la latifundiaria anterior, ajena

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[8]Cálculos basados en los datos tomados de A. NÚÑEZ JIMÉNEZ, op. cit., y C. R. RODRÍGUEZ, op. cit., y "Cuatro años de reforma agraria", *Cuba Socialista*, No. 21. El artículo 24 de la Ley Fundamental permitió la confiscación de los bienes de los que emigraron de Cuba o realizaron actividades consideradas oficialmente como contrarrevolucionarias.

[9]Esta decisión fue tomada por el Congreso Nacional de Cooperativas Cañeras (17.–18.08.1962). Amplios argumentos políticos y sociales en el Discurso de Fidel Castro pronunciado en la clausura del Congreso (*Obra Revolucionaria*, No. 25, La Habana, 1982). Para el análisis, compárese: C. R. RODRÍGUEZ, "Cuatro años de reforma agraria", op. cit.

[10]Alrededor de 2450 mil has. estaban dentro de las fincas consideradas campesinas y el resto en manos de obreros, empleados y otras personas. Tomado de las fuentes citadas en la nota 6.

TABLE 1. Estructura de la tenencia de la tierra (%)

Año	Sector estatal	Total	Sector no estatal privado	Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria
1959	40	60		
1963*	52	48		
1963*	71	29		
1978	79	21	98	2
1982	80	20	66	34
1986	80	20	49	51

*1963: datos relativos a la situación de antes y después de la Segunda Reforma Agraria

Fuentes: *Anuario Estadístico de Cuba 1986,* La Habana 1987; O. Trinchet Viera, *La cooperativización de la tierra en el agro cubano,* La Habana 1984.

al sentido individualista campesino.[11] A pesar de esto entró en vigor el principio de la valoración, que hasta 1975–77 no encontró su confirmación en la práctica: la propiedad estatal y la colectiva son mejores que la individual. Así, los efectos de la primera etapa de las reformas sociales en el campo fueron cargadas de múltiples consecuencias.

[11]Instituida en 1961, la ANAP procedió a crear la red de organizaciones de base que fueron:

- Asociaciones campesinas de carácter social y político, en 1963 existían 2600;
- Cooperativas de Crédito y Servicios, 587 en 1963;
- Sociedades Agropecuarias, cooperativas de propiedad colectiva de la tierra, antecesoras directas de las CPA, en 1963 alrededor de 100.

(Datos tomados de O. TRINCHET VIERA, 1984, op. cit.)
Sin embargo, para éstas últimas "[...] el momento no era el más adecuado", según escribe el autor arriba citado (p.26) y distintos motivos provocaron que hasta la nueva política de cooperativización perduraron sólo algunas (43) convertidas después en las CPAs.

La reorganización y afianzamiento de las empresas agropecuarias estatales

Una vez montado el armazón de la nueva estructura de relaciones sociales en el agro fue emprendida la labor de afianzarla política y económicamente. Desde el punto de vista económico el vehículo de este afianzamiento fue la política social y organizativo–técnica iniciada en el campo en 1968 y orientada hacia la uniformización económica y espacial del complejo agro–rural y la erradicación del individualismo. Los objetivos de la misma fueron realizados mediante:

- el fomento de empresas agrícolas estatales especializadas,
- la organización territorial compacta y acorde a las metas económicas y condiciones naturales,
- la incorporación y/o subordinación de distinta manera de las tierras campesinas a los planes estatales agropecuarios (empresas estatales especializadas),
- modernización general del campo y desarrollo rural integral subordinado a las empresas estatales agropecuarias.

El programa actuó, sin embargo, selectivamente de acuerdo a distintas clases de prioridades productivas, territoriales y decisiones de otra índole, no siempre relacionadas y acordes con los patrones de planificación física establecidos.

Como se desprende de lo anterior, en el período entre 1968 y la mitad de la década siguiente, cuando el programa de fomento de empresas estatales había logrado sus objetivos, un gran número de fincas individuales debía haber sido incluido en los planes estatales mediante la venta, entrega a cambio de jubilación del dueño o incorporación en forma de usufructo.[12]

Es difícil lograr estadísticas directas oficiales al respecto, sin embargo es posible estimar que, en el período señalado, alrededor del 30% de la

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[12]La incorporación al plan agropecuario estatal en forma de usufructo se basaba sobre los siguientes principios:

- el campesino permanecía dueño de su tierra;
- tenía derecho a quedarse con un lote de autoconsumo de hasta 2 has.;
- tenía derecho de mantener su casa en el lugar original;
- en caso de renunciar a los dos privilegios anteriores, la empresa tenía la obligación de construirle la casa en el lugar adecuado;
- el Estado se encargaba de asegurarle subsidios mensuales hasta que la tierra rentada no empezara a producir, a la vez se encargaba de todas las labores e inversiones indispensables para el cultivo y producción;
- una vez la parcela entraba en producción el campesino empezaba a cobrar las liquidaciones / los costos de la producción empezaban a cobrársele al campesino a partir del segundo año consecutivo de producción;

tierra campesina engrosó las empresas agropecuarias estatales, o sea alrededor de 900 mil has., quedando en manos de los agricultores individuales alrededor de 1.8 millones de has. El área arriba citada equivale aproximadamente a unas 30–35 mil fincas. Sin embargo, el decrecimiento del número general de fincas individuales campesinas no resultó tan fuerte debido a que una parte considerable de campesinos al incorporar sus tierras a las empresas estatales decidió mantener a su disposición parcelas de autoconsumo de hasta 2 hectáreas consideradas para fines estadísticos como fincas.

Quedaron en efecto del programa analizado alrededor de 137 mil fincas consideradas como campesinas. De ellas casi 100 mil menores de 13.4 has. y casi 70 mil menores de 6.7 has.[13]

No obstante, el proceso de disminución del número de fincas y áreas campesinas resultó bastante diferenciado territorialmente quedando números mayores en áreas de:

- mayor densidad de población y tradiciones campesinas más antiguas,
- condiciones medioambientales menos favorables,

siendo las mismas, ciertas zonas del Pinar del Río, La Habana, Sancti Spíritus, Santiago, Holguín, para mencionar las de mayor importancia.

Pero a la vez es importante recordar que prácticamente todas las fincas emergieron del proceso descrito de transformación socioeconómica del campo, vinculadas en mayor o menor grado al sistema único de manejo de la economía y la sociedad rural mediante:

- organizaciones sociales y políticas de masas,
- organizaciones sociales y económicas campesinas de la Asociación Nacional de Agricultores Pequeños – ANAP (Bases Campesinas, Asociaciones Campesinas, Cooperativas de Servicio y Crédito),

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- a partir de la entrada en producción de su parcela el campesino tenía la obligación de trabajar en proporciones siguientes: 5 días a la semana no menos de 8 horas diarias para la empresa y los dos días restantes los podía utilizar para su lote de autoconsumo.

La explicación hecha se basa en reglamentos generales y sobre las experiencias propias del autor en distintos planes agropecuarios estatales en los años 1969–71. Compárese también: A. DEMBICZ, *Estudio socio-económico de la Base Platanera de Artemisa,* Universidad de La Habana, 1971.

[13]Son datos correspondientes al año 1978 y procedentes del Censo Ganadero de octubre del mismo año, tomados de O. TRINCHERT VIERA, op. cit., p. 33–34. Existían en manos privadas 2020 mil has., de ellas 1767.5 mil en fincas consideradas campesinas, habiendo un total de tenedores particulares de 201,715, entre ellos 137,395 fincas consideradas campesinas.

- regulaciones económicas de producción resultantes de la planificación económica territorial o empresarial (contrataciones con distinta clase de acopio o empresas agroindustriales por ejemplo),
- control agrotécnico según la modalidad resultante de la situación anterior.

Dimensión demográfica e identidad campesina

A partir de 1959, a nivel nacional, empezaron a suceder cambios bruscos en las estructuras socio–económicas y espaciales. Primero la remodelación de principios y prioridades y posteriormente la intensificación de actividades económicas provocaron cambios poblacionales y cambios en las tendencias demográficas. Su efecto más visible resultó la fuerte extracción de la fuerza laboral agrícola y rural.

Posteriormente, como efecto de la inversión de prioridades y de la formación del nuevo sistema de valores surge, fortaleciéndose con el correr de los años, la subestimación por actividades rurales y agrícolas. Todo este proceso resultó muy acelerado sin haberse creado una base suficiente de infraestructura que garantizara el equilibrio económico y social entre los sectores urbano y rural, como también dentro del primero, existiendo una evidente sobrecarga de presión demográfica, principalmente – como es natural – en las ciudades más grandes del país.

Creo que en la historia de Cuba sólo se puede hablar de dos momentos que responden a estas características. El primero es el postabolicionista: las décadas ochenta y noventa del siglo pasado, y el segundo: el postrevolucionario (a partir del fin de la lucha armada por el poder en 1959). Claro que este fenómeno refleja tanto factores racionales, como también emocionales, abundantes en situaciones de grandes movimientos masivos y cambios de esta índole de profundidad. La conjunción de los procesos demográficos y psico–sociopolíticos desemboca en efectos importantes desde el punto de vista de la cuestión campesina. La valoración de la tierra, del terruño, de la "patria chica", de "lo local" y de la tradición familiar se vio bastante debilitada y empezó a declinar. Este problema, sin embargo, al igual que la cuestión de la identidad regional, merecen estudios a fondo que hasta ahora no han sido acometidos.

Mercado interno

La influencia de estas condiciones es sumamente importante, resumiéndose como falta de mercado. Por lo tanto, en primer lugar, no existe el nexo, tan importante socialmente, entre la agricultura campesina y el resto de

la sociedad que se realiza directamente mediante el contacto personal entre el comprador y el productor/vendedor e indirectamente mediante la presión de la demanda. Esta consideración es cierta sólo en parte, ya que, obviamente, el racionamiento de productos alimenticios como efecto de la escasez provoca la proliferación de situaciones ilegales (mercado ilegal de alimentos) especialmente intensas en las áreas suburbanas. Excepcionales fueron en este sentido los años 80–85 cuando funcionó el mercado libre campesino que permitió comercializar libremente los productos agropecuarios.

Finalmente, como efecto de las premisas mencionadas, tanto aquí como en el capítulo anterior, y relativas a las desventajas económicas y sociales frente al sector estatal, se observa entre los campesinos el creciente desinterés por la continuación en el campo con el estatus original y por consiguiente el proceso de abandono de las fincas a cambio de jubilaciones o por ventas al estado. Pero también incorporándose a las Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria.

Cooperativas de producción agropecuaria

En 1975 fueron sentadas las bases para reanimar el cooperativismo colectivista de la tierra (compárese la nota 11). Esto sucedió con la aprobación, por el I Congreso del PCC, de la "Tesis sobre la cuestión agraria y relaciones con el campesinado" que, asignando la prioridad a las formas estatal y colectiva de la propiedad de la tierra indicaba:[14]

- La cooperativa es una de las dos formas socialistas de producción en la agricultura, que representa los intereses de la colectividad de productores, surgida a partir de la decisión de los campesinos que la integran de unir sus tierras y demás medios de producción fundamentales, dejando atrás la producción individual minifundiaria.
- Bajo la orientación y guía del partido, corresponde a la ANAP un papel fundamental en la paciente y sistemática labor de divulgar, esclarecer, convencer, conquistar a cada familia campesina para el propósito de marchar, llegado el momento, hacia formas socialistas de producción, y velar celosamente por el respeto del principio de la voluntariedad.

En consecuencia, el V Congreso de la ANAP celebrado en 1977 aprobó la resolución "La transformación de las actuales formas de producción del campesinado" que delineaba formas y métodos de la nueva etapa de la socialización de la agricultura individual.[15]

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[14] *Tesis y Resoluciones, I Congreso del PCC*, La Habana 1976.
[15] *V Congreso de la ANAP, Memorias*, 1978.

Con estas decisiones de carácter político y otras que le acompañaban de carácter económico y que en la realidad constituían la base material ejecutiva, empezó la segunda etapa de la socialización del complejo rural cubano subordinada al principio de la cooperativización agropecuaria.

Cabe aquí preguntar por los motivos de esta nueva política social y económica frente al sector individual. Con más amplitud se analizan estas cuestiones en mi estudio sobre procesos de cooperativización (*Actas Latinoamericanas de Varsovia,* Tomo 9). Sintetizando, creo que entre los motivos políticos, económicos y socioculturales hay que mencionar los siguientes:

- la necesidad de solucionar definitivamente el problema de la dicotomía sectorial, lográndose con esto el cumplimiento del programa nacional político establecido;
- la necesidad de finalizar la ejecución del programa iniciado en el período 1968–1975 del reordenamiento territorial pero en especial a nivel local y regional;
- la posibilidad de completar la socialización y la organización económica ideada a menor costo que la realizada mediante las grandes empresas estatales y aparentemente, con mejores efectos económicos;[16]
- la posibilidad de invertir las tendencias desfavorables en las esferas poblacional y socio–cultural y de crear premisas para poder fomentar una sociedad rural de mayor arraigo local en base a la estabilidad y seguridad material y cultural.

No obstante las razones enumeradas, hay que estar conciente que esto fue posible porque el número, la superficie y la población de las fincas privadas habían bajado considerablemente mientras que la organización y el control económico y político del complejo agro–rural logrados auguraban la realización exitosa del proceso de cooperativización en la forma prevista.

Los principios de la nueva cooperativización son:[17]

- colectividad de tierras y medios de producción;

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[16]En 1976, el sector campesino, ocupando el 21% de las tierras agrícolas, aportó:

- 24.4% de la producción nacional ganadera,
- 39.4% de la producción vegetal no cañera,
- 18.1% de la producción cañera, constituyendo las tierras no estatales bajo caña el 18% del total sembrado de este cultivo. (Tomado de O. TRINCHET VIERA, op. cit., p. 1).

[17]Elaborado en base a la "Ley de Cooperativas" (Ley No. 36), publicada en la Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba el 24 de agosto de 1982.

- voluntariedad de conformación de la cooperativa y de ingreso para ser socio aportador o no aportador de la tierra;
- autogestión económica;
- especialización productiva;
- subordinación en la planificación económica y en la organización del espacio a los niveles correspondientes.

Llama la atención la incompatibilidad entre el tercer punto y los siguientes.

Las condiciones formales aseguradas y otros factores que no necesariamente fueron tomados en cuenta provocaron un extremadamente rápido proceso de cooperativización.

La cooperativización implicaba a la vez el reordenamiento y la concentración del poblamiento rural en nuevos poblados cooperativistas.

Este proceso involucró probablemente a no menos de 60,000 fincas y cerca de 200–300 mil habitantes, miembros de las familias campesinas, en tanto que están vinculadas con las CPA como socios y sus familiares (1986) alrededor de 300 mil personas de las cuales más del 50% viven ya en las comunidades (poblados) cooperativas.

El proceso, como se desprende de las informaciones extraoficiales, resultó más acelerado de lo esperado oficialmente.

Aparte de las condiciones formales creadas, fueron utilizados dos tipos de mecanismos de promoción:

- argumentos ideológico–políticos e,
- incentivos económicos y socio–culturales.

Entre estos últimos, especialmente válidos para numerosas familias dispersas en el campo y ávidas de mejorar sus posibilidades dentro del sistema socio–económico existentes hay que mencionar tales como:

- acceso a servicios e instalaciones sociales, económicas y técnicas;
- jornadas normalizadas de trabajo;
- jubilaciones;
- asignaciones para la adquisición de ciertos equipos electrodomésticos a precio subvencionado;
- asignaciones de cuotas dobles de consumo para cada socio, aparte de la asignación oficial, etc.

Nada extraño que en el contexto social y económico legal anteriormente analizado y con el apoyo de los mecanismos de promoción descritos el proceso de cooperativización haya resultado tan masivo. Las actitudes de los campesinos que se asociaron a las CPA incluyen todas las posturas posibles: desde la convicción política y/o económico–social, pasando por

la resignación frente a presiones de distinta índole y falta de perspectivas para la economía privada, oportunismo político y material, hasta la conveniencia social y económica. Esta última reinó entre los campesinos de edad avanzada, privados, por tendencias anteriormente comentadas, de presencia y ayuda de sus hijos, que en las CPAs divisaron el varadero tranquilo para los años de vejez, con la casa, servicios médicos y jubilación aseguradas a cambio de su tierra.

TABLE 2. Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria, 1977–1986

Características	1977	1980	1983	1986
Número	116	1035	1472	1368
Superficie (mil has.)	–	212,9	938,2	1011,5
Socios	–	29535	82611	67672
Area (CPA)	–	205	637	739
Socios (CPA)	–	29	56	49

Fuente: *Anuario Estadístico de Cuba, 1986,* La Habana 1987.

Por cierto, el cuadro 2 parece indicar una fuerte fluctuación de socios de las cooperativas. Es cierto. La misma se debe principalmente al proceso de jubilaciones de los socios avanzados de edad, resultando de la cooperativización "por conveniencia" y a la estabilización de los socios no aportadores. Durante los primeros años la afluencia de estos últimos, en su mayoría obreros de las empresas agropecuarias estatales, por razones de orientación política y/o de conveniencia material – principalmente facilidades habitacionales y cuotas de abastecimiento – fue muy fuerte.

Una alta participación de socios faltos de sentido de comunión de intereses, más otros hechos, y entre ellos la fuerte dependencia de las CPA de los órganos regionales de planificación y de las empresas estatales de contratación de sus productos hacía que las cooperativas carecieran de características propiamente cooperativistas, asemejándose más bien a dependencias estatales.

El proceso de estatización o, si se quiere, de socialización de la agricultura cubana, y a la vez de la descampesinización de la sociedad rural no ha terminado. Persisten aún numerosos focos territoriales de fuerte tradición agrícola–campesina por una parte, y por otra hay casos de cooperativas que tratan de tener su identidad "cooperativa" real. Probablemente todo se decidirá en los próximos dos lustros.

PLANTATION ECONOMY AND LAND REFORM. THE JAMAICAN EXAMPLE 1972–1980

Gerulf Augustin (Hannover)

Introduction

When the People's National Party (PNP) came to power in 1972, the state was the biggest landowner in the country. Roughly one fifth of the arable land or 280,000 acres were at the disposal of the Government.

About one third of the population were small farmers who tried to make their living by cultivating a piece of land with an average size of 1.5 acres. The socio–economic and socio–political situation of these farmers and their families in Jamaica has not changed since emancipation.

Land reform was considered by the new social democratic Government as the focal point within the planned measures for the development of the rural areas.

From a quantitative point of view the programme can be considered quite successful. From its inception in 1973 until 1980, roughly 70,000 acres of arable lands were distributed among 36,000 tenants. For example, in the 1979/80 crop year, approximately J$ 30 million were produced throughout the year on 22,000 acres. This means that 'Project Land Lease' was producing approximately 14% of the total domestic agricultural output.

Initially, the small farmer responded positively to the programme. However, the tenant's gradual withdrawal from parts of the programme must be seen as a reaction to the programme's planning and implementation.

I will present a critical assessment of the programme by the tenants. The findings are based on interviews carried out in 1986/87.

The impetus for the case study on Jamaica came from the researcher's interest and active participation in the implementation of the land reform programme under the PNP–Government.

Socio–economic and socio–political situation of the Jamaican small farmer

The Jamaican small farmer and his family have less than two acres of cultivable land on an average at their disposal. This figure can only be

an indicator for the small farmer's socio–economic situation, because land is his home and his working place at the same time. The available financial means are equally divided in both parts. He has only some simple tools, and an animal is available sometimes for heavy work. Apart from this he is dependent on his own strength, supported only occasionally by his family or seasonal wage–labour. Since hardly any surplus is produced, income is too small to allow for saving or reinvesting. Therefore, production and income will never exceed a low level. The small farmer is very cautious about changing traditional cultivation methods because it is difficult for him to overlook and calculate credit conditions, price fluctuations and government programmes. This part of society has been neglected or disappointed by half–hearted programmes 'from above' for too long.

Former studies show that land possession has a social significance for the Jamaican small farmer which goes beyond pure economic security:

- a piece of land means a possibility to identify oneself with a home;
- land is considered an investment ('land cannot spoil') particularly when it is acquired by austerity and diligence where higher productivity is not possible owing to lack of money;
- unlike the plantation labourer, the Jamaican small farmer feels himself more free and self–determined because he can choose the crops he wants to plant and he can arrange his own working–hours;
- possession of land is regarded as security for old age ('as long as I have land, someone will look after me') and as heritage for the children ('if they have land they won't starve').

As the studies further show, the small farmers' methods of production have not changed for generations. The traditional method of cultivation – mostly based on family experience – can guarantee the subsistence of the family except in times of crisis, yet it cannot satisfy the demand for a higher income. This implies a change in the methods of production connected with financial inputs. Yet borrowing money from the free market would mean to encumber their own piece of land. For the above–mentioned reasons, there is little possibility of risks being taken so that the level of production as well as the standard of living remains low.

Agriculture in the National economy in 1972

The 1968 Agricultural Census showed that agriculture occupied approximately 1.5 million acres or about 55 percent of the total land area in Jamaica. This acreage represents a significant decline since 1958. Tab. 1 shows the acreage occupied by agriculture since 1958.

TABLE 1. Acres of Land in Farms, 1958–1961–1968

Year	Tatal Acreage	Cultivated	Grassland and Pasture	Other
1968	1 489 200	581 400	430 400	447 400
1961	1 711 400	445 300	630 400	653 700
1958	1 822 800	612 700	708 300	501 800

Source: Min. of Agriculture 'Agricultural Census 1968'

In accordance with this fact, the contribution of agriculture to the total GDP, for example, declined between 1965 and 1970 from 11.6% to 8.0%. Jamaica has become a net importer of agricultural goods since 1966. Major imported items include cereals, meat, dairy product and fish. The major export crops are sugar, bananas, coffee and citrus.

The three principal types of agricultural usage are plantation crops grown mostly for export, mixed farming of food crops for domestic consumption, and pasture for beef and dairy cattle, whose products are also consumed locally.

Tab. 2 shows the distribution of lands by type of use in 1970.

Agriculture is still the principal employer in Jamaica. About 30% of the labour force (ca. 235 000 persons) are primarily dependent on agriculture and related industries for a living. Because of the low productivity of the agricultural sector, the average GDP per person employed in agriculture in 1974 was as low as about J$ 670 per annum compared to an average of J$ 3400 per annum in the rest of the economy.[1]

A significant feature of Jamaica's agriculture is the great diversity between the sizes of farms. The Agricultural Census 1968 shows that in 1968 farms of less than 5 acres accounted for 78% of the total number of farms and only 15% of acreage in farms. On the other hands, however, farms of 500 acres and over accounted for 0.15% of the total number of farms but represented 43% of the total acreage of farms. Tab. 3 shows the relationsship between number of farms and farm land.

Jamaica's agriculture definitely has a dual nature. On the one hand there is a large number of small farmers located in the hilly regions producing mostly domestic crops, while on the other hand there is a small

[1] Gov. of Jamaica, *First Rural Development Project,* Vol. I, 1975, p. 3.

TABLE 2. Distribution of Land in Farms by Major Type of Use

Type of use	Acreage	Percentage of Total
Export Crops	444 600	29.6
Sugar Cane	167 700	11.2
Bananas	84 000	5.6
Coconuts	100 000	6.7
Citrus	25 000	1.7
Cocoa	27 000	1.8
Coffee	15 000	1.0
Pimento	24 000	1.6
Tobacco	1 900	0.1
Other Tree Crops	1 900	0.1
Domestic Food Crops	91 000	6.1
Comercial Forests	16 000	1.1
Improved Pasture	250 000	16.7
Natural Range (Grassland)	138 400	9.2
Other Lands Suitable for Agr.	139 000	9.4
Remainder (Forest, Woodlands, etc.)	420 000	28.0
Total	1 500 900	100.2

Source: Gov. of Jamaica, *Jamaica Second Five Year Plan 1970–1975,* Vol. III, C.P.U.

number of large estates and farmers on the plains producing mostly export crops.

The Land Reform Programme of the People's National Party (PNP): Genesis, Aims and Substance

Under the slogan 'Put idle lands into idle hands' the PNP instituted a number of important programmes in its first term. Operation G.R.O.W. (Growing and Reaping Our Wealth) was a broad, long-term project that included the following parts:

TABLE 3. Pattern of Land Ownership

Size of Farm acres	Number of Farms abs.	%	Farm Land abs.	%
0 – 5	151 700	78.6	229 000	15.4
5 – 25	37 600	19.5	341 000	22.9
25 – 100	3 100	1.6	127 000	8.5
100 – 500	700	0.4	148 000	9.9
over 500	300	0.1	644 000	43.3
Total	193 400	100.2	1 489 000	100.0

Source: Min. of Agriculture, 'Agricultural Census 1968'

Food Farms: Food crops which had to be imported (rice, onions, etc.) were now to be cultivated with modern methods on state–owned land;

Pioneer Farms: unemployed youths from rural and urban areas were to get the chance to learn about methods of agricultural cultivation; after one year they could earn their living on a cooperative basis;

Infrastructural Programmes: measures like afforestment, building of micro–dams for irrigation, soil conservation, new roads, rural electrification, and food processing plants were included as well;

Sugar Cooperatives: in 1971/72 the Jamaican Government bought the five largest sugar–estates; a reduction of sugar–cane land which was no longer profitable was planned in a medium term; the Government intended to turn away from the dependence on monoculture by introducing diversified vegetable gardening and fruit growing; but sugar–workers were opposed to these structural changes and demanded the setting up of sugar cooperatives; the Government fulfilled their desires;

Project Land Lease: contrary to the former 'Land Settlement Programme' which offers interested people the chance to buy land out of state property – the so–called 'Freehold–system' – now the 'Leasehold–system' was introduced giving the small farmer the chance to lease arable land on a short–, medium–, or long–term basis.

'Project Land Lease' was the centre–piece of 'Operation G.R.O.W.' The programme was combined with the obligation of land cultivation, financial

incentives and other measures for growth control by the government. It was modelled on a programme of ALCAN ('Aluminium Canada') in which its idle bauxite lands were leased to peasants who also got some assistance from the company. 'Project Land Lease' (PLL) involved the leasing of government and privately–owned lands to small farmers.

In 1974 PLL was divided into three phases to give land as quickly as possible to as many small farmers as possible:

Phase I: the government leases from private owners for a period of 5 to 10 years; small farmers living in the neighbourhood can lease this additional land for a low interest–rate;

Phase II: for a period of 49 years government–owned land will be leased to selected small farmers with the right to extend the lease for another period of 49 years;

Phase III: size and quality of government– owned land should guarantee an appropriate standard of living; the land can be leased for a period of 49 years with the right of extension; new settlements will be set up, the government will provide the necessary infrastructure such as houses, water, roads, etc.; it was considered as a move towards a more cooperative structure in which farmers would work leased land with a common infrastructure provided by the government.

In addition leaseholders of all three phases should get credit in kind like fertilizer, seeds, herbicides, or insecticides. An extension service was to be set up and market facilities to be provided.

The implementation of the programme and its problems

'Project Land Lease' placed about 36000 people on about 70 000 acres of arable land, most of the tenants were previously landless. The taking over of idle land in the programme and the Government provision of credit and some infrastructure were important reasons for the increase of domestic agriculture from the mid–1970s.

An increase of production was the first aim. This demanded, besides financial and material inputs, extended knowledge of methods of production and an increased readiness for innovations by the small farmers. Therefore, an extension service was set up and new training programmes were scheduled and set into operation sporadically. But both sides – the tenants and the extension officers – complained about lack of support by the administration.

A new administration for the implementation of the land lease programme was set up alongside the existing administrative structure of the

Ministry of Agriculture. The main reason was that the former administration did not show much interest or sympathy with the new programme. Later in the mid–1970s a new department, the 'Production Unit' was established. It included four fifths of all persons working in the Ministry of Agriculture. The establishment of a databank and a statistical department followed.

The new positions were filled preferably with followers and sympathizers of the new government and supporters of the new programmes. But the new civil servants were overwhelmed by administrative duties. Large–scale bookkeeping, distribution of credit in kind, collections of outstanding debts, together with poor transport facilities and financial incentives kept the agricultural advisers from their real tasks: the extension and motivation of the tenants, implementation of demonstration experiments, etc.

The selection process of the tenants caused more problems than expected. For example, if land was to be distributed the officer in charge compiled a list of applicant out of which an 'independent' committee selected the suitable tenant according to certain criteria and based on an interview. Sometimes the local Member of Parliament took part in the committee and he represented his list of candidates – in the end, the result was a compromise. Again and again this external influence led to delays and hindrances in the implementation of the programme.

The properties already under distribution were owned by the Government, having been leased or purchased by the Government from holders of large estates who were ready to lease or to sell. In many cases the quality of the soil of the allotted properties was very poor and often not suitable for the intended cultivation of food crops. Indeed, it was mostly poor quality soil that changed owners.

In addition to the soil as a means of production the tenant should have been offered more financial assistance to reach the programme's targets. As the research shows financial means for the programme have not been raised during the implementation. Instead the administration of the programme was cut down with the consequence for the leaseholder that credit facilities were reduced more and more.

In Jamaica the marketing of agricultural products not designed for export is traditionally pursued by retailors ('Higglers') – who are mainly women. The crops are purchased directly from the producer and sold on the local market. This system has worked since centuries, but it does not satisfy the small farmer as the producer. The higglers only take small quantities and these irregularly and do not keep price arrangements. The state–owned 'Agricultural Marketing Corporation' (AMC) was extended in addition to the raise existing private marketing system to motivate small farmers to production. Minimum prices and sales guarantees for

all reaped crop were meant to be the main stimulus for surplus production. About J$ 3 million were invested in the construction of shops and coldstorage depots and in the purchase of trucks. In the beginning the two systems seemed to be able to exist side by side, but more and more the small producer faced the fact of being left alone by the AMC: dates could not be kept, crops rotted in the field, the payment was delayed...

A successful implementation of a land reform programme requires further macro–economical measures besides land and capital to enable the formation of capital in smallholding production. Single projects for the processing of agricultural products were promoted but they were insufficient to motivate the Jamaican small farmer to produce additional surplus. The small farmer preferred planting short–term crops, for example beans, in spite of repeated recommendations through the extension officers to cultivate export crops like mangos or avocados which could be easily sold with high profits on the North American market. But, red beans can be reaped after three months whereas mangos or avocados have their first yield after 5 years at the earliest.

A land reform programme needs laws and regulations which fit into the general and special demands of the various parts of the programme. As mentioned in the beginning, land ownership is of extreme importance for the Jamaican small farmer for social and economic reasons. Credits are given only if a LAND TITLE is held. The TITLE was scheduled for the long–term lease, welcomed and expected by the tenants. Yet, the hope for the promised land– registering and thereby the credit–worthiness, was not fulfilled until the end of the PNP–Government. Again and again the people responsible put off the tenants without being able or willing to give satisfying reasons.

After the successful reelection of the PNP in 1976 the distribution of land reached its peak. Indeed, the offering of land to close to 10 000 small farmers during that year must be considered more as an election gift to followers and sympathizers of the successful party. There was not enough money to reach the qualitative targets of the programme. Effects of the world economy (decline of the sugar price, higher prices for energy), the influence of the bauxite trusts (reduction of the volume of production in Jamaica and the transfer of production to Australia at the same time), as well as domestic problems (capital flight, lack of investments by foreign firms) led to a decline of state–revenue and, at the same time, restricted credit opportunities on the international money–market (influence of the USA conditions of the IMF).

Social programmes – like the land reform programme – came to feel these developments first. Yet the Government succeeded in obtaining a credit for a special land reform programme in a limited area, the so–called 'First Rural Development Programme', by the IBRD. US$ 30 million were

provided for this integrated rural development. In the case of another region, financial and personnel were provided by US–AID ('Agency for International Development'). The 'Second Rural Development Programme' with likewise new focus points in the technical area (soil conservation measures, irrigation) had US$ 20 million at its disposal.

More importance was attached to quality than to quantity in the remainder of the land reform programme. The new established 'Rural Physical Planning Units', working in each of the four administrative regions of the Min. of Agriculture, met these demands. They had been set up by Dutch experts and with financial assistance by the Dutch government and were later also given personnel and material assistance by the German Volunteer Service. The main task of these planning departments was to analyse and assess the potential of properties offered for sale to the government. Another task was to elaborate development plans for properties already owned by the government which were designed for distribution. Finally these planning units with their highly qualified staff were to help tenants with technical and organizational advices and know–how on lands already belonging to the programme. One year before the election (1980) the 'Comprehensive Rural Development Programme', covering the other rural areas was elaborated with the intention of receiving financial assistance from the World Bank or the FAO.

But the victory of the 'Jamaican Labour Party' (JLP) in the election in October 1980 prevented the postage of the application.

Assessment of 'Project Land Lease' by the tenants

In the beginning the Jamaican peasantry favoured 'Project Land Lease'. But bureaucracy (Min. of Agriculture) and the power of landowners (including their power within the Min. of Agriculture) meant that distribution was slow and in many cases inadequate. This encouraged a significant increase in squatting and land capturing during the 1970s.

Generally speaking, land distribution for farming was welcomed. But when the land was not suitable for the planned and recommended cultivation tenants neglected their land and refused not only to pay the rent even the credit for land preparation. If profit was unsatisfactory due to various reasons (drought, praedial larceny, no market) the tenants did not pay the credit they received in terms of fertilizer, chemicals or planting material. The fact that only one third of arable land was under cultivation and less than 10 percent of the credit had been paid back after a seven–years–term of land reform must be considered as a rejection of the implementation of parts of the programme by the target group.

The following information, facts and statements are based on surveys and interviews with PLL–farmers carried out in 1979/80 and in 1986/87.

Profile of tenant farmer

In 1979/80 the majority of tenants was between 36 and 50 years old. Seven years later – understandably – almost half (43%) of the interviewed farmers were aged between 50 and 65 years. The youngest man was 18 years, the oldest man 82 years, the youngest woman 40 years and the oldest 64 years.

The average size of the tenant family was and is 6 or 7 members.

Almost two thirds of the respondents stated that they went to school from between 6 to 10 years. Only one out of six tenants had no formal education.

In 1979/80 two thirds of the tenants had some skills apart from farming, half of them were craftsmen such as masons, carpenters, painters or plumbers. In 1986/87 still one third mentioned some skills besides farming.

Attitude of farmers towards the PLL–programme

The vast majority of the tenants (90%) stated that "PLL is the best programme the country ever had" because most of them received a piece of land for the first time in their lives for cultivation on their own.

> "I have now my own place to cultivate; nobody can push me around".
>
> "I am farming a piece of land I never did before; it put money in my pocket".
>
> "It helped the small mass of the poor man who can't afford to buy a square".

In 1979/80 all the interviewed tenants owed a certain amount of money to the Government; but the majority did not consider loans in terms of rent, tillage, planting material or seeds as a credit. One explanation for this attitude can be seen in the statement:

> "If I don't get a crop, so I cannot pay the loan".

or another explanation may be in this one:

> "I feel that it is a Government money and therefore I can use it for other purposes".

Present situation

Independent of the property and the size of the allotted land, the great majority of the interviewed farmers cultivate only one acre of the leased

land. In contradiction to this fact, they said they were satisfied with the leased land – 21% complained about the poor quality of the land – and the majority would like to lease even more land. They consider between five to ten acres as the optimum acreage they would like to cultivate.

Compared with the previous situation, it was discovered that through the PLL–programme planting activities increased and that people had been encouraged to grow new varieties. Most interest was put on semi–permanent crops: less attention is paid to permanent crops. The growing of annual crops is still very popular.

In most cases, there is little surplus produce, and it is sold mainly to higglers and on the local markets.

Assessment of the programme

A vast majority (88%) stated that they had got real benefits from the Land Lease Programme:

> "The land is a benefit; otherwise I don't have anywhere to go and plant a square".
> "We got land to farm; for some of us it is the only land to get food on our table".
> "We have no work, so without this little land we would suffer".
> "It is this piece of land and the help I get; I would not have been able to start building a home and bury my mother last year".

Apart from the piece of land, the programme provided other important benefits such as credits in kind and the availability of technical advice:

> "Between 1973 and 1980 Government helped with tractor, seeds, fertilizer which assisted production".
> "When we got the land, they plough us the place and gave us plants".
> "No real benefit, but it makes me now more independent than before".

Although farmers expressed satisfaction with the advice given by the Extension Staff, a majority of them proposed to put more emphasis on better assistance by the Field Officers in order to improve the implementation of the programme.

Most of the farmers suggested giving arable land that is not being cultivated to people who really work on it.

For improving the repayment of credits the interviewed farmers suggested among other things that, a strict collection system should be established, and that the use of loans should be controlled.

Findings

'Put the idle land into idle willing hands', was the slogan of 'Project Land Lease', the main part of OPERATION G.R.O.W., the PNP–Land–Reform–programme in the 1970s. The programme was aimed at bringing idle land to the land hungry and at increasing food production. PLL was by far the largest programme and it met with some success. By 1980, roughly 37000 small farmers had been placed on about 75000 acres of arable land, i.e. 16% of the rural population dependent on agriculture benefited from the programme, and according to the interviews, living standards improved to a certain degree. PLL was also successful in terms a contribution to increased food production.

TABLE 4. Domestic Food Production 1971–1980 (in m pounds)

Year	total root and vegetable crops	crops produced by Project Land Lease (mostly roots and vegetables)
1971	638	
1972	670	
1973	608	
1974	658	17
1975	663	68
1976	632	29
1977	793	56
1978	1010	82
1979	915	139
1980	771	150

Source: Gov. of Jamaica/National Planning Agency, *Economic and Social Survey–Jamaica* (various years)

On the other hand the programme was relatively expensive. The accumulated costs by 1980 were J$ 39.1 million, thus the average cost per tenant to the overnment amounted to J$ 1038. Out of the total cost J$ 13.7 million were recoverable loans. Easier access for small farmers was one part of the programme. These loans were extended for land preparation and agricultural inputs. The tenants were supposed to sell their surplus to the government–owned Agricultural Marketing Corporation at fixed but lower prices than the market could bring and then repay the loans from their earnings. Farmers preferred to sell 'over the fence' to higglers in order to get higher prices and at the same time avoid paying

debts to the Government – one reason for the low rate (20%) of repayment. Only J$ 2.8 million was recovered. And this affected the turnover of cash flow in the project.

To convert idle lands into production the PNP–Government acquired some lands itself or forced landholders by serving them with idle land orders under which the owners had to either bring the unused land into production themselves or lease it to the Government or someone else. The lands were distributed without any feasibility studies or development plans. In many cases it was proved that the quality of the land was poor and not suitable for the intended cultivation of food crops. Another problem which hampered productivity, especially under PLL–Phase I, was fragmentation. Farmers leased land at a considerable distance from their home, which involved additional costs in time for commuting and transport. In addition to drought, praedial larceny, or crop failure many acres therefore were left idle by tenants.

The programme was also hampered by the partisan nature of the programme's administration. The distribution of land often became a reward for PNP–supporters, known JLP–supporters felt neglected when it came to distribution of material for example.

The programme was carried out by the Government. The intended establishment of Farmers' Associations did not work, so the tenants were not involved in any decisionmaking process. On the contrary, the state bureaucracy often acted in an authoritarian and paternalistic manner instead of encouraging a 'self–help' attitude among the tenants.

Land distribution on a low scale certainly took place, but no real land reform. A far reaching programme would have required a combination of legal and constitutional changes in land tenure and land ownership in addition to massive financial resources to develop the infrastructure and to set up a small–scale agroindustry.

Frustrated by the lack of real land control and lack of participation in the programme's implementation, the tenants concentrate on purely personal, individual efforts. The Government still respected the property rights of large landholders, because 'Project Land Lease' was never intended to give the small farmers the political and collective power needed to challenge the old rural structure.

STRUCTURALLY ADJUSTED JAMAICA OR, FUTURE PAWNED

Claudia von Braunmühl (Berlin)

When Jamaica and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are discussed, more often than not the mind wonders back to the last years of the Manley Government, when the then prime minister did not submit to the demands of the Fund but called elections and in October 1980 lost them by a large margin. This phase in Jamaica's history, although only of three years duration, has been researched and described frequently and in depth.

The conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and its prime minister Edward Seaga immediately after taking office resumed negotiations with the IMF. In the meantime, Jamaica has been living for 8 years under the regime of IMF agreements, the 4th at present, and they are publicly referred to as "dictates". Surprisingly little is known about these agreements which have become a decisive factor in the life of the Jamaican people and which have changed it drastically.

This presentation, therefore, is about what has been happenning in the eighties, about "restructuring" as prime minister Seaga termed it, or rather, "structural adjustment" which is the technical term the IMF and the world bank are using. The paper will follow the sequence of agreements, will probe into their professed intention and will analyse their actual consequences.

But at first a look at the agreements. If we remember, the controversial points leading to the break with the IMF in the late seventies were two demands put to the Manley-government which the Fund was taking a hard line on: Firstly further devaluation and secondly massive public sector redundancies. The first agreement between the conservative JLP government with the IMF contained no such demands. Just as no pressure was put on the new government to terminate public sector employment schemes. On the other hand the JLP was granted economic targets that entailed by far more consumer imports than conceded to its predecessor. In other words the agreement did spell out the classic conditionalities of structural adjustment programmes like import liberalisation, removal of all kinds of subsidies, including those on basic food items, cuts in the public budget, increase in revenue, provision of export incentives, divestment of government–owned business, including public utilities, and a decrease in the circulation of money. Thus the IMF took pains to

complement the political victory of the JLP at the polls with an economic and social underpinning that it would need for its consolidation in power.

As usual the so–called stabilization agreement was to last for 3 years. Within this period the foundations for the process of restructuring were to be laid and for this purpose the IMF, the world bank, and US AID together credited Jamaica 2 billion US dollars. 2 1/2 years later the agreement was suspended. Jamaica was unable to meet some of the test requirements and subsequently the IMF stopped payments of its tranches. What had happened?

Within this time span imports, more then half of them made up of luxury consumer items, had risen by 50%, export had fallen by one third, total production was down one fifth, the budgetary deficit was up one fifth. The relation between external debt and Gross National Product which in 1980 had been around 80% jumped up to a 140%, the debt ratio which in 1980 was a 120% now ranged at to 220%. It was only now that talk of a Jamaican debt crisis came up.

The second agreement of November 1983 now turned out to be extremely strict: more than 300% devaluation, public sector layoffs amounting to one third of the labour force in the sector. These were the exact conditionalities which 4 years earlier were the reason for the PNP's (People's National Party) break with the Fund and which initially the JLP had been spared. This agreement, too, did not run its full course. In August 1985 there was a third agreement which was supposed to extend over a 21 months period, but was suspended after no more than 6 weeks. In October 1985 the PNP called for a wake with a subsequent silent march to the seat of the national bank in the early morning hours. Shortly afterwards prime minister Seaga asked the three main donors of the island, IMF, world bank, and USAID, "to take a fresh look" at the situation of restructured Jamaica. A special mission comprising the three organizations came to Jamaica, held talks with the government and business representatives, and in spring of 1986 submitted a report – in which it insisted on continuation of a strict austerity course. Seaga refused, and for over a year a situation existed which was referred to as "IMF impasse". There simply was no agreement. The government was able to take this course because of unexpected savings from lower oil prices on the world markets. In March 1987, the IMF consented to a fourth agreement which deviates from the classic course of neoliberal structural adjustment. Reintroduction of basic food subsidies was permitted, import regulation, and an inflation rate not exceding 10%. Most important the recently adopted practice of the Jamaican government, manipulating the exchange rate to remain stable was allowed to continue. Since then first fragile signs of economic improvement can be observed.

Against this background an economic advisor of Michael Manley has discribed the situation of Jamaica in the eighties as such:

> The fact is that every action of significance it took over the period was influenced by the anticipated reactions of the IMF or the perceived impact which it could have on the conditions of the Agreement in force. Within such a framework, government actions were guided by what would seem to be the most relevant section of the current Agreement. As such the idea of long–term economic planning became more and more remote as senior State technicians were fully occupied in either implementing and monitoring the current programme or involved in negotiating a future agreement. (Davies 1986)

Before turning to the effects of restructuring, let us discuss shortly the intentions of IMF policy directives, or rather the stated intentions. With this year's annual meeting of IMF and world bank attracting much attention this is widely discussed at present and shall therefore only be summarized here.

A country is supposed to enjoy sufficient growth for it to pay back its debt. The IMF and in the eighties, this was not always the case, the world bank too, are convinced firstly that outward–oriented countries show better results than do inward–oriented ones. And secondly, what has been called private enterprise is a better engine of growth than government. And the IMF and the world bank are convinced, that their convictions are general truths, applicable everywhere and under any circumstances but unfortunately not always heeded. Jamaica for instance, with its inward–oriented strategy of the seventies or, to put it in the language of the time, its strategy of self–reliance, according to IMF and world bank took a totally wrong turn. From a worldmarket perspective this resulted in distorted productive structures and a standard of living which in actual fact the country could not afford. Therefore Jamaica needs to be structurally adjusted and, clearly, some "assistance" to that effect has to be given.

It would not be difficult to show point by point how and to what extent the individual elements of structural adjustment do not achieve their stated targets, but space does not allow to do so here. In truth the aims of structural adjustment fall wide off the mark. That fact in itself could be cause for some serious discussion about the real if not stated intentions of structural adjustment. However, this presentation will confine itself to a rather cursery view on aggregate data.

Three years are supposed to be sufficient time for structural adjustment to be effective. We have seen already what devastating results it had achieved from 1983 to 1985. But maybe more time is needed; maybe after, say 6 to 8 years, things look quite different?

They do look different. Now

- the national debt has gone up to 4,2 billion US dollars. 1980 it was 1,2 billion.
- the debt ratio, that is the relation between total debt and total export earnings has risen to 262% (1980: 125%), the ratio to the GNP is 150%, that is twice at high as 1980.
- the actual GNP lies 20% below that of 1972.
- exports have fallen 16%.
- in addition to 20.000 redundancies in the public sector a further 20.000 jobs have been lost in the industrial sector, mostly in small industries; production capacity is at 50%, the investment rate at 60%.
- debt and debt service increase faster than do production and export.

Growth has not been achieved. On the contrary, there is now hardly any chance for the country to produce itself out of its debt. To put it more clearly: the very debt that will chain the country for years to its "donors" to a large extent has been created through structural adjustment.

And something else looks different now.

- According to statistics collated by the Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute, in 1979 a family of the size of 5 had to spend 92% of its then minimum wage to secure basic food requirements, in 1985 it was 250%. Local dishes, formally more common to poor people, have grown into hardly affordable festive meals. Akee and Saltfish. Saltfish 185% more expensive. Vegetable soup with flour dumpling. Flour 214% more expensive. Tinned milk, the main source of milk for poor people, 83% more expensive, chicken neck and back, most important source of animal protein for poor people, 74% more expensive.
- Electricity and water rates more than doubled, the price of cooking gas has tripled. Many women returned to cooking with coal on an old wheel rim.
- The Rent Assessment Board, once set up as a protective device for people against excessive rent demands, now became the very agency that ruthlessly effects rent hights and evictions in protection of middle class interests. Housing construction has dwindeld down to 30% of what it was in the seventies. Housing conditions are increasingly dense and desperate.
- Schooling has become a precious good difficult to access. Transport, school uniforms, school books, everything has gone up over more than 300%, the rate of devaluation, that is. Because of the cuts in government spending the basic school programme has been suspended alltogether. Spending on primary schools has fallen one

third, on teachers training two thirds. Sometimes funds allotted are not released. Government owes them to the institution, but delays the actual disbursement in order to meet specific IMF targets. Tertiary education institutions like the College of Arts, Science, Technology and the University of the West Indies now attract a cess.

- Nearly 50% of all teachers have left the schools. Many of them joined the ranks of a rather recent species, the informal commercial importer (ICI). These are higglers who import foreign consumer goods which are high in demand. Low salaries for highly qualified people cause them to leave the educational system. In agreement with IMF stipulations wage raises are not to excede 15% and, in fact, after an extended strike, teachers got an increase of 13% for the whole of 8 years. On the other hand working conditions in the educational sector became more unbearable. Now the average primary school class counts 55 children. All over the island schools are vandalized by poor people of the area. Particularly after summer holidays benches, chairs, lavatories, basins, whole wooden walls are found missing and government had threatened to stop financing the necessary repairs.
- Medical care becomes equally difficult to access. Vaccination programmes, mosquito control, preventive examinations in school – government money is to be saved – are curtailed or terminated alltogether. One institution training nurses has been closed, the other one did not take in new students for years. Training in midwivery was suspended for a couple of years. The widely acclaimed community–health–aid–programme providing a link between curative and preventive medicine has been terminated alltogether. Many rural hospitals and health centres have been closed or "downgraded", meaning that their equipments and their services have been scaled down substantially. Formerly freely rendered services of the public health system as for instance pre– and ante–natal health care, delivery, prescribed medication, now have to be payed for. Oftentimes the staff does not have the heart to insist on the money. Consequently many health centres work with highly fictional budgets. Their patients simply cannot pay and government does not disburse its funds in time due to IMF targets that have to be met. On the other hand, in order to keep specialists on the island, public hospitals have reintroduced private wards.

Government provisions for health and education are the only option for the large majority of the people to secure their future. It is in these areas that basic decisions about the quality of their lives and their chances in

society are being made. Deterioration in these sectors does not reflect immediately in numbers and figures. It is their future pawned out.

In a few years from now donor agencies – this trend has already begun – will "identify" development projects of undebatable social need and great human urgency. Rehabilitation will follow structural adjustment and again it will all be part of development policy dialog.

But to return to the topic of growth. One growth industry does exist. It lies in the Kingston Free Zone. This is where US based firms place usually old equipments into brandnew turn-key factory space provided for by the Jamaican government with donor credits to be serviced and payed back eventually. So far about 15.000 women have been hired. In piece labor they add a few stitches to brassieres or precut hosery fabrics, before the value added product leaves the free port to be shipped back to the US, in the process attracting a substantial amount of various sorts of subsidies and exemptions. The much herolded Caribbean Basin Initiative secures certain benefits for such production in the US, too. Therefore further factory space is in high demand. Further benefits but temporary construction work and piece labour do not accrue to the country. Linkages to local production do not exist.

Trade unions are not admitted to the free zone. The women earn between 80 and 90 Jamaican dollars per week with the purchasing power of the Jamaican dollar lying under that of the deutschmark. Just the same, it is not the issue of remuneration that brought the recent cry for union representation, but rather insufficient facilities such as cantines, resting space and, at the end of the day, a refreshing shower in order to make the way home with a sense of respectability. Foremost, however, it is the unaccustomed reduction to an element of the labour force and nothing but that, and the more often than not white expatriate manager to whom no trade union will form an arbitrating link and who are frequently compared with the overseer of the oldtime plantation society. The issue of the free zone has be discussed widely in the media, and there is always a tint of shame in it. A quarter century after independence for badly needed jobs to come around only in this form and under these conditions is indeed a most painful experience.

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I want to express my gratitude for the generous provision with information and reflection not easily to be found in academic quarters. Few of his writings, however, are available in accessable print.

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